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CLS TRANSCRIPT (Unofficial)

05/19/2023 15:39:52

Program: Juris Doctor

Meenu Mathews

Spring 2023

Course ID	Course Name	Instructor(s)	Points	Final Grade
L6293-2	Antitrust and Trade Regulation	Wu, Timothy	3.0	A-
L6655-1	Human Rights Law Review		0.0	CR
L6269-1	International Law	Cleveland, Sarah; Clooney, Amal	4.0	A
L6781-1	Moot Court Student Editor II	Bernhardt, Sophia	2.0	CR
L6423-1	Securities Regulation	Fox, Merritt B.	4.0	B+
L6822-1	Teaching Fellows	Bernhardt, Sophia	1.0	CR

Total Registered Points: 14.0**Total Earned Points: 14.0**

Fall 2022

Course ID	Course Name	Instructor(s)	Points	Final Grade
L6422-1	Conflict of Laws	Monaghan, Henry Paul	3.0	B+
L6425-1	Federal Courts	Metzger, Gillian	4.0	A
L6655-1	Human Rights Law Review		0.0	CR
L6680-1	Moot Court Stone Honor Competition [Minor Writing Credit - Earned]	Bernhardt, Sophia	0.0	CR
L6274-3	Professional Responsibility	Rose, Kathy	2.0	B+
L9181-1	S. Asian Americans and the Law	Chin, Denny; Lee, Thomas	2.0	A-

Total Registered Points: 11.0**Total Earned Points: 11.0**

Spring 2022

Course ID	Course Name	Instructor(s)	Points	Final Grade
L6231-2	Corporations	Talley, Eric	4.0	A
L6429-1	Federal Criminal Law	Richman, Daniel	3.0	B+
L6655-1	Human Rights Law Review		0.0	CR
L6169-1	Legislation and Regulation	Metzger, Gillian	4.0	A
L6685-1	Serv-Unpaid Faculty Research Assistant	Ponsa-Kraus, Christina D.	2.0	CR
L6683-2	Supervised Research Paper	Johnson, Olatunde C.A.	1.0	CR

Total Registered Points: 14.0**Total Earned Points: 14.0**

Page 1 of 3

Fall 2021

Course ID	Course Name	Instructor(s)	Points	Final Grade
L6241-1	Evidence	Shechtman, Paul	3.0	A-
L6611-1	Ex. Racial Justice	Kleinman, Rachel; Merle, Natasha	2.0	A
L6611-2	Ex. Racial Justice - Fieldwork	Kleinman, Rachel; Merle, Natasha	3.0	CR
L6655-1	Human Rights Law Review		0.0	CR
L6675-1	Major Writing Credit	Johnson, Olatunde C.A.	0.0	CR
L6683-1	Supervised Research Paper	Johnson, Olatunde C.A.	2.0	CR
L6822-1	Teaching Fellows	Liebman, Benjamin L.	4.0	CR

Total Registered Points: 14.0

Total Earned Points: 14.0

Spring 2021

Course ID	Course Name	Instructor(s)	Points	Final Grade
L6133-2	Constitutional Law	Hamburger, Philip	4.0	A-
L6108-2	Criminal Law	Harcourt, Bernard E.	3.0	B+
L6679-1	Foundation Year Moot Court	Strauss, Ilene	0.0	CR
L6130-7	Legal Methods II: Building Legal Change: Moving Advocacy Outside of Court	Hechinger, Scott; Rodriguez, Alejo; Shanahan, Colleen F.	1.0	CR
L6121-1	Legal Practice Workshop II	Harwood, Christopher B	1.0	HP
L6116-1	Property	Scott, Elizabeth	4.0	B+
L6912-1	Transnational Litigation	Bermann, George A.	3.0	A

Total Registered Points: 16.0

Total Earned Points: 16.0

Fall 2020

Course ID	Course Name	Instructor(s)	Points	Final Grade
L6101-2	Civil Procedure	Effron, Robin	4.0	A
L6105-1	Contracts	Kraus, Jody	4.0	B+
L6113-2	Legal Methods	Strauss, Peter L.	1.0	CR
L6115-1	Legal Practice Workshop I	Harwood, Christopher B; Neacsu, Dana	2.0	P
L6118-2	Torts	Liebman, Benjamin L.	4.0	A-

Total Registered Points: 15.0

Total Earned Points: 15.0

Total Registered JD Program Points: 84.0

Total Earned JD Program Points: 84.0

Honors and Prizes

Academic Year	Honor / Prize	Award Class
2022-23	Harlan Fiske Stone	3L
2021-22	James Kent Scholar	2L
2020-21	Harlan Fiske Stone	1L

Pro Bono Work

Type	Hours
Mandatory	40.0
Voluntary	1.3

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Brooklyn Law School
ESTABLISHED 1901

ROBIN J. EFFRON
PROFESSOR OF LAW

June 6, 2023

To Whom It May Concern:

I am writing to recommend Meenu Mathews for a clerkship in your chambers.

Ms. Mathews was a truly outstanding student in my Fall 2020 civil procedure class at Columbia Law School where I taught as a visiting professor. She earned one of the highest A grades in the class on the final exam. Her exam reflected excellent writing ability as well as a solid mastery of the subject matter as tested in both essay and multiple choice. Ms. Mathews was a frequent and energetic contributor to class discussion. She often volunteered answers and thoughts in the general discussion and was well-prepared for her days “on call.” Our remote learning experience utilized Zoom breakout rooms and I know that Ms. Mathews was an enthusiastic participant and leader in these group exercises and discussions, both from my observations when I “dropped in” and from the glowing comments of my teaching assistants who helped to facilitate those discussions.

Ms. Mathews was also very active in posting on the class discussion boards. These asynchronous forums were an important part of keeping the students connected to each other and to the material during our semester of remote learning. I appreciated the time and care she put into her comments, and the thoughtfulness with which she engaged with others.

In a semester in which it was particularly difficult to get to know students on a personal basis, it was my pleasure to engage with Ms. Mathews in a manner that was so enjoyable that I almost forget that we did not meet in person until nearly a year later in the fall of 2021. Ms. Mathews was a regular visitor to my Zoom office hours, during which she used the reading and lecture materials to cultivate broader discussions about litigation and its role in regulation and enforcement. Like many first-year law students, Ms. Mathews had a general sense that she was interested in litigation but was unsure of what a career as a litigator might mean. She also used our discussion of cases as a springboard to interrogate many of the underlying substantive law principles behind those disputes. In the years since she was my student, it has been my pleasure to see Ms. Mathews sharpen her interests and begin to craft a path toward a position as a government litigator in several possible capacities.

I also know that Ms. Mathews has been interested in a judicial clerkship for quite some time. During her 1L year, she helped organize a panel for the Law Women organization that featured Columbia Law School professors talking about their experiences as federal judicial clerks. I was very impressed with the event. Among other things, Ms. Mathews made sure that

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ROBIN.EFFRON@BROOKLAW.EDU



Brooklyn Law School
ESTABLISHED 1901

ROBIN J. EFFRON
PROFESSOR OF LAW

there were professors who had clerked for district and appellate judges as well as Supreme Court justices. It impressed me that she recognized that these are different experiences and that students would benefit from hearing about different types of clerkship experiences. She moderated the panel along with a classmate, asking questions about our experiences that helped elucidate our day-to-day experiences as clerks, as well as the long-term benefits of a clerkship. It is notable that she exercised such able stewardship over this type of event in her first semester of law school.

In my observation, Ms. Mathews would be a superb asset to any chambers. Her warmth was evident even in our remote learning environment. She is collegial and inquisitive. She is firm in her core beliefs, but treats other points of view with respect and genuine interest. I have no doubt that she will be a successful lawyer and make many contributions to the public, whether it is through a position with the federal government, or by continuing to engage earnestly with colleagues in both formal and informal settings.

Ms. Mathews has my highest recommendation. Please do not hesitate to contact me with any further questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

/s/ Robin Effron

Robin Effron

June 12, 2023

The Honorable Jamar Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, VA 23510-1915

Dear Judge Walker:

I am delighted to write in very strong support of Meenu Mathews' application for a clerkship in your chambers. Meenu will be an outstanding clerk.

Meenu was a student in my torts class during the fall of 2020. Meenu asked the best questions of any student in the class. Many students struggle to separate legal issues in torts from policy questions. Meenu saw these policy implications immediately and excelled at thinking beyond the doctrine to analyze societal issues that lie behind the cases we examine in the first-year torts curriculum. Meenu was unusually perceptive in seeing the link between torts litigation and broader questions of how civil litigation can both advance and impede social justice. Meenu did well in torts and in law school generally, earning academic honors every year.

Based on her performance in torts I asked Meenu to be a teaching assistant for a large section of torts during the fall of her 2L year. Again she excelled, helping students with doctrine and with adjusting to life in law school. I meet with my TAs weekly, and Meenu was very good in these meetings at making sure we went over the doctrinal points we had covered in class that week and also the policy implications. She has done well throughout law school, excelling in notoriously difficult courses such as Federal Courts. She also served as a Student Editor for our One L Legal Practice Workshop, where she helped train One Ls in writing briefs.

Outside of class, Meenu has shown her dedication to using the law to address inequities in our legal system and society. She has externed for the NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, has interned in the Civil Rights Division at DOJ, and has served as executive articles editor on the Columbia Human Rights Law Review. As the child of immigrants, she is deeply committed to diversifying the legal system. She served as a leader of Columbia Law School's Empowering Women of Color and has also directed PracticePro, an organization that seeks to expand the pipeline of students attending law school (and to support them while at law school). Prior to law school, she worked at a crisis management firm where, despite being just out of college, she helped in efforts to convince top management to address issues of diversity and inclusion within the firm (as well as with the firm's clients).

Meenu aims to pursue a career as a litigator. She will be beginning her career this fall at Davis Polk but sees herself shifting to the public sector in a few years. Meenu is a wonderful person and a great team player. She will be a great lawyer, and would be a fantastic clerk.

Please do not hesitate to let me know if you require any additional information.

Sincerely,

signature

Benjamin L. Liebman

Benjamin Liebman - bl2075@columbia.edu - 212-854-0678

June 08, 2023

The Honorable Jamar Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, VA 23510-1915

Dear Judge Walker:

I am writing to recommend Meenu Mathews, a 2023 Columbia Law School graduate, for a clerkship in your chambers. Meenu is an extremely intelligent, thoughtful, and mature young lawyer with impressive analytic abilities. I am confident that she will be an outstanding law clerk and recommend her with the greatest enthusiasm.

I taught Meenu in two classes during her time at Columbia: Legislation and Regulation in her 2L spring, and Federal Courts in her 3L fall. She excelled in both, earning straight As. Meenu's performance in LegReg was particularly impressive. From early on, her class comments showed a sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the material. Her analytic abilities were exceptional; she stood out for her ability to see complications and tensions among different lines of doctrine as well as to identify and assess their underlying assumptions. I was also struck by how effectively she articulated her points. And her exam was off-the-charts good, one of the two best I received in the class. It was not just analytically sharp, but extremely well written — demonstrating the same clarity, concision, and effective presentation of her oral comments. I was so impressed by Meenu's class performances that I asked her to TA for me in the spring, but unfortunately, my going on government leave meant that I didn't get a chance to work with her in that role.

Meenu displayed the same strengths in Federal Courts. It was a larger class with fewer opportunities for in-class participation, but even so, Meenu's comments stood out for their analytic insights and eloquence. Again she wrote an extremely strong, well-written exam, excelled at both the issue spotters and the policy questions, and demonstrated a very sophisticated grasp of complicated doctrines.

Over the course of the two semesters I taught Meenu, I had a chance to meet with her a couple of times in office hours. I enjoyed all of our interactions. She displayed the same poise and eloquence in our conversations as I saw in class, and has a quiet self-confidence, warmth, and overall good humor that makes spending time with her a real treat. I am confident you would find her a wonderful addition to your chambers.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if there is any further information on Meenu I can provide.

Very truly yours,

Gillian E. Metzger

Gillian Metzger - gmetzg1@law.columbia.edu

PROXIMITY AS A PROXY FOR CRIMINALITY: A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO THE FOURTH AMENDMENT CONCERNS OF GEOFENCING WARRANTS AND GUNSHOT DETECTION SOFTWARE

INTRODUCTION

Law enforcement's use of emerging technologies in apprehending suspects sits in perpetual tension with Fourth Amendment protections to one's locational technology.¹ Increasingly, these technologies aid law enforcement officials identify an individual's location at the time of a crime. Some of these tools are used *ex post*, to compile a list of potential suspects. One such tool—geofencing warrants—enable law enforcement agencies to petition technology companies for the location data of all users within a geographic radius.² In contrast, some tools—like gunshot detection software—alert law enforcement officials to crime in real-time.³ These tools seem like effective aids to law enforcement officers. However, when used to apprehend criminal suspects, law enforcement officers often use proximity as a proxy for criminality.

This Note will focus how law enforcement's practices involving these technologies violates the Fourth Amendment protection against general warrants and searches without particularity.⁴ However, while courts have recognized the Fourth Amendment concerns geofencing warrants

¹ See, e.g. Rachel Levinson-Waldman, *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Fourth Amendment Framework for Analyzing Government Surveillance in Public*, 66 EMORY L.J. 527, 530 (2017) [hereinafter *Hiding in Plain Sight*] (exploring the Fourth Amendment implications of emerging technologies used by law enforcement agencies).

² See, e.g., *Geofence Warrants and the Fourth Amendment*, 134 HARV. L. REV. 2508, 2511-12 (2021); Jennifer Valentino-DeVries, *Google's Sensorvault Is a Boon for Law Enforcement. This is How It Works.*, N.Y. TIMES, (Apr. 13, 2019).

³ See *About ShotSpotter*, <https://www.shotspotter.com/company/> (last visited Jan. 18, 2022).

⁴ U.S. CONST. amend. IV.; *infra* Section I.B (discussing requirements for a warrant to be constitutional under the Fourth Amendment).

raise,⁵ litigants challenging the use of ShotSpotter have been largely unsuccessful in challenging the use of an alert alone to apprehend a criminal suspect.⁶

This Note argues for a comprehensive approach to technologies—specifically geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software—that use proximity as a proxy for criminality, through litigation, policy change, and industry buy-in.⁷ Part I provides background on the mechanics of geofencing warrants and ShotSpotter. This section will also examine existing Fourth Amendment jurisprudence and how it relates to protecting locational privacy.⁸ Part II will examine the Fourth Amendment concerns raised by geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software, analyzing how they fit into existing Fourth Amendment jurisprudence. Specifically, this section will explore how courts have treated geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software differently in existing precedent. Part III will propose a solution starting in the courts—litigating against the use of gunshot detection software as the sole verification of one’s criminality on Fourth Amendment grounds.⁹ However, a solution based on litigation alone is unlikely to prevail, given narrow Supreme Court jurisprudence regarding Fourth Amendment protections for criminal defendants—leaving much discretion to individual jurisdictions.¹⁰ While a great deal of literature

⁵ See *In re Search of Information Stored at Premises Controlled by Google*, No. 20 M 297 (D.E. 4) (N.D. Ill. July 8, 2020) (unsealed on July 16, 2020); *In re Search of Info. Stored at Premises Controlled by Google*, No. 20 M 392, 2020 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 152712 (N.D. Ill. Aug. 24, 2020); *In the matter of the Search of Information That Is Stored at the Premises Controlled By Google, LLC*, No. 21-MJ-5064-ADM (D. Kan. Jun. 4, 2021); *infra* Section II.B (exploring recent litigation denying law enforcement’s efforts to use geofencing warrants in apprehending criminal suspects).

⁶ For examples of such litigation, see *Rickmon v. United States* 952 F.3d 876, 884 (7th Cir. 2020); *Funderburk v. United States*, 260 A.3d 652, 657 (D.C. Cir. 2021); *infra* Section II.B (discussing recent litigation upholding the use of ShotSpotter alerts to apprehend criminal suspects).

⁷ Geofencing warrants have drawn scrutiny because they reveal the identities of numerous individuals who are in proximity to a crime, even if they were not involved and did not witness the crime. *Geofence Warrants and the Fourth Amendment*, 134 HARV. L. REV. 2508, 2511-12 (2021).

⁸ See *infra* Part I.

⁹ See *infra* Part II.

¹⁰ See *infra* Part III.

has suggested a reframing of evaluating law enforcement's use of emerging technologies,¹¹ a shift in jurisprudence should be supported by policy change and industry buy-in. Thus, this Note uses opposition by geofencing warrants to provide a framework to critics of ShotSpotter.

I. THE LANDSCAPE OF GEOFENCING WARRANTS AND GUNSHOT DETECTION SOFTWARE

Increasingly, law enforcement agencies adopt technology that allows them to place suspects at the scene of the crime.¹² This practice can pose grave Fourth Amendment concerns when presence near a scene of a crime—without involvement—can effectively provide law enforcement officials unfettered access to search an individual or apprehend a suspect based on their location alone. This Part provides background on recent technologies in which law enforcement agencies have used proximity as a proxy for criminality. Section I.A discusses law enforcement's use of two specific technologies—geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software. Section I.B details Fourth Amendment protections that are relevant to analyzing whether law enforcement's use of these technologies poses constitutional concerns.

A. Law Enforcement's Use of Emerging Technologies: Geofencing Warrants and Gunshot Detection Software

Law enforcement agencies routinely embrace emerging technologies to identify or indict criminal suspects. This section outlines the mechanics and processes of geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software—two recent methods that law enforcement agencies have used to apprehend criminal suspects.

1. Law enforcement's use of geofencing warrants

¹¹ See, e.g. Margaret Hu, *Cybersurveillance Intrusions and an Evolving Katz Privacy Test*, 55 AM. CRIM. L. REV. 127, 129 (2018) (stating that emerging technologies often fall outside the scope of existing Fourth Amendment precedent); Rachel Levinson-Waldman, *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Fourth Amendment Framework for Analyzing Government Surveillance in Public*, 66 EMORY L.J. 527, 552 (2017) [hereinafter "*Hiding in Plain Sight*"] (arguing for a reframing of Fourth Amendment jurisprudence to better accommodate protections for criminal defendants in the face of rapidly emerging technology).

¹² See *Geofence Warrants and the Fourth Amendment*, *supra* note 2.

Geofencing warrants are one tool that aid law enforcement officials in apprehending suspects based on their location. While law enforcement agencies do not collect this data, technology companies are increasingly able to collect detailed real-time location information of consumers.¹³ Law enforcement agencies issue warrants directly to a technology company in order to access this data.¹⁴ To execute a geofencing warrant, a law enforcement agency draws a virtual “fence” around an area where a crime occurred, and requests a list of devices that were within that fence when a crime occurred.¹⁵

Geofencing warrants rely on the data collection mechanisms technology companies employ. As data collection becomes increasingly prevalent, this places troves of data at the hands of law enforcement officials. For example, Google relies on the location history service linked to Android and Apple devices to collect user data from a variety of products.¹⁶ This process typically starts when users set up Google’s applications, such as Google Photos or Google

¹³ Technology companies are increasingly able to collect precise location data on individuals who use their products. See generally Nathan Newman, *Search, Antitrust, and the Economics of the Control of User Data*, 31 YALE J. ON REG. 401, 435-437 (2014) (stating that Google’s collection of Wi-Fi hotspots precipitated the technology company’s access to increasingly precise real-time information about user location); Jennifer Valentino-DeVries, *Google’s Sensorvault Is a Boon for Law Enforcement. This is How It Works.*, N.Y. Times, (Apr. 13, 2019), <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/13/technology/google-sensorvault-location-tracking.html> [hereinafter Valentino-Devries, *Google’s Sensorvault Is a Boon for Law Enforcement*].

¹⁴ See *Geofence Warrants and the Fourth Amendment*, *supra* note 2; see also Valentino-DeVries, *Google’s Sensorvault Is a Boon for Law Enforcement*, *supra* note 2.

¹⁵ *Id.* Geofencing is not exclusive to the law enforcement space. For example, retail companies can operationalize geofencing to target potential consumers within a certain radius of their stores. See Sarah Perez, *Target Launches Beacon Test in 50 Stores, Will Expand Nationwide Later This Year*, TECHCRUNCH (Aug. 5, 2015), <https://techcrunch.com/2015/08/05/target-launches-beacon-test-in-50-stores-with-expanded-rollout-later-this-year/> (noting that customers receive push notifications about deals when they enter a geographic radius). These examples of geofencing are relatively benign since their reach is narrow. *Id.* Users must have the mobile application installed and opt in to receive messages; at any point, they can choose to turn off notifications. *Id.*

¹⁶ See generally *Geofence Warrants and the Fourth Amendment*, *supra* note 2; Valentino-DeVries, *Google’s Sensorvault Is a Boon for Law Enforcement*, *supra* note 2.

Maps.¹⁷ The company compiles the location information into a database called Sensorvault.¹⁸ Sensorvault was not created to serve law enforcement's interests—in fact, it was developed to collect information on Google users so that the company could deploy targeted advertisements.¹⁹

The first publicly documented geofencing warrant was a request for Sensorvault's data in 2018.²⁰ Since then, the use of geofencing warrants has increased exponentially.²¹ Google's latest transparency report discloses that the company received almost three thousand geofencing warrant requests in the final quarter of 2020.²² Overall, the data shows that the company has received over twenty thousand geofencing requests since 2018.²³

¹⁷ *Id.* Users can opt out of location services, but they will be prompted to share their location each time they install an application owned by Google. See Mohit Rathi, *Rethinking Reverse Location Search Warrants*, 111 J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY 805, 810 (2021) (outlining Google's location data collection processes).

¹⁸ Google's use of SensorVault is well-documented. See, e.g. *id.* (detailing Google's process of capturing data in Sensorvault); Donna Lee Elm, *Geofence Warrants: Challenging Digital Dragnets*, 35 CRIM. JUST. 7 (2020) (stating that "Google tracked and stored in its behemoth SensorVault extremely precise location data on all devices that use Google's apps and operating systems.").

¹⁹ *Id.*

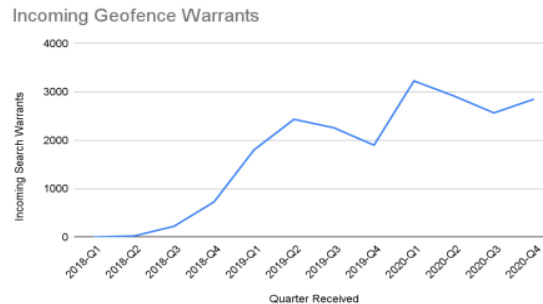
²⁰ See Elm, *Geofence Warrants: Challenging Digital Dragnets* *supra* note 18 (stating that the first geofencing warrant asking for Google's SensorVault location data was issued in the wake of nine armed robberies).

²¹ Aggregate data is not available from law enforcement agencies, but technology companies have made public statements about increasing requests via warrant. See *id.* (detailing the amount of geofencing warrants received between 2018 and 2020). While other companies also receive such requests, Google appears to have the largest set of aggregated data. The remainder of this Note will focus on law enforcement's relationship with Google specifically.

²² See Figure 1. *Id.* In a recent legal brief, Google noted that "Google has observed a 1,500% increase in the number of geofence requests it received in 2018 compared to 2017; and the rate increased from over 500% from 2018 to 2019." Brief of Amicus Curiae Google LLC in Support of Neither Party Concerning Defendant's Motion to Suppress Evidence From a "Geofence" General Warrant at 3, *United States v. Chatrue*, No. 3:19-cr-00130-MHL (2021).

²³ See Figure 1. *Id.*

Figure 1



Geofencing warrants that are publicly available provide scant details about the scope of search.²⁴ For example, a recent warrant request filed in Virginia stated that a geofencing warrant would help reveal the suspect in a robbery because the suspect had a phone in his hand at the time of the crime.²⁵

For example, in a recent warrant request filed in Virginia, law enforcement officials cited that probable cause for the warrant included seeing that a suspect had a phone in his hand during a phone robbery.²⁶ The Eastern District of Virginia approved the warrant, and Google’s data revealed location data on nineteen individuals during the requested time frame.²⁷ Geofencing warrants are characteristically broad—law enforcement provide little identifying detail about a

²⁴ Alike most warrants, many geofencing warrants are typically sealed and unavailable to the public. See Valentino-DeVries, *Google’s Sensorvault Is a Boon for Law Enforcement*, *supra* note 2.

²⁵ Aff. For Search Warrant, Nat’l Assoc. of Crim. Def. Lawyers, <https://www.nacdl.org/getattachment/fc0182fd-fe6c-452f-b31f-d7a63acc135a/edva-geofence-warrant.pdf> (last visited Jan. 18, 2022) (citing that in a “September 2013 Pew Research Center study, it was determined that 91% of American adults own a cellular phone with 56% being smartphones....because of this, your Affiant believes that there is probable cause to believe that the offender(s) in the robbery would have had a mobile device on their person or within close proximity to them.”).

²⁶ Aff. For Search Warrant, Nat’l Assoc. of Crim. Def. Lawyers, <https://www.nacdl.org/getattachment/fc0182fd-fe6c-452f-b31f-d7a63acc135a/edva-geofence-warrant.pdf> (last visited Jan. 18, 2022) (citing that in a “September 2013 Pew Research Center study, it was determined that 91% of American adults own a cellular phone with 56% being smartphones....because of this, your Affiant believes that there is probable cause to believe that the offender(s) in the robbery would have had a mobile device on their person or within close proximity to them.”).

²⁷ Jon Schuppe, *Police used Google location data to find an accused bank robber. He says that’s illegal*, NBC NEWS (Nov. 20, 2019), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/police-used-google-location-data-find-accused-bank-robber-he-n1086836>.

potential suspect, often earning unfettered access to the data of any individual who happens to be at the scene of a crime.²⁸

2. *Law Enforcement's Increased Reliance on Gunshot Detection Software*

Law enforcement agencies also employ gunshot detection software to assist with identifying crime and suspects. Gunshot detection software can help law enforcement agencies detect crime, because the software alerts an agency when it detects the sound of a gunshot. Similar to geofencing warrants, gunshot detection software enables law enforcement officials to identify individuals who are geographically close to—though perhaps not involved in—criminal activity.

ShotSpotter is the most prominent company bringing this technology to market.²⁹ The company was founded in 1996, and has contracts with over 120 cities, including San Francisco, Miami, and Chicago.³⁰ According to the company's website, ShotSpotter is a "leader in precision policing technology solutions that enable law enforcement to more effectively respond to, investigate and deter crime."³¹ The company has contracts with over one hundred and twenty cities, and has reviewed over twenty-five million incidents.³² While ShotSpotter has a host of products,³³ its flagship product is ShotSpotter Respond.³⁴

²⁸ See, e.g. *Geofence Warrants and the Fourth Amendment*, *supra* note 2; see also Elm, *Geofence Warrants: Challenging Digital Dragnets* *supra* note 18 at 8 (stating that the first geofencing warrant was "in essence, a fishing expedition).

²⁹ See *About ShotSpotter*, <https://www.shotspotter.com/company/> (last visited Jan. 18, 2022). Other companies include Acutate (see Mission, <https://actuate.ai/company> (last visited Jan. 18, 2022)); ZeroEyes (*About Us*, <https://zeroeyes.com/>, (last visited Jan. 19, 2022)); and Scylla (see *About Us*, <https://www.scylla.ai/gun-detection/> (last visited Jan. 19, 2021)). This Note will focus predominantly on ShotSpotter because it has produced the greatest amount of publicly available data about relationships with law enforcement agencies.

³⁰ According to the company's website, ShotSpotter has reviewed over twenty-five million incidents in over 120 cities. Since going public in 2017, its stock price has more than doubled. See *About ShotSpotter*, *supra* note 3.

³¹ *About ShotSpotter*, <https://www.shotspotter.com/company/> (last visited Jan. 18, 2021).

³² *Id.*

³³ Other products include case management and forensic services software. See *id.*

³⁴ ShotSpotter Respond was released in 1996, and its first trials took place in Redwood City and Washington, DC. *Id.*

The company publicly outlines a four-step process for gunshot detection on its website. The process starts when a gun is fired, and the sound waves radiate.³⁵ Second, acoustic sensors detect the sound, using a process called triangulation. Acoustic triangulation records sound waves to multiple sensors, and measures the speed and decibel level of a sound to determine the location of a gunshot.³⁶ The sounds form an “acoustic fingerprint” which filters out other noises that may be mistaken for gunfire.³⁷ Third, the “fingerprint” is sent to a ShotSpotter Incident Review Center where analysts audit data and direct confirmed gunshots to law enforcement officials.³⁸ Finally, alerts are sent to law enforcement dispatch centers so that officials can respond.³⁹ The company notes that “the entire process can take less than 60 seconds.”⁴⁰ Importantly, ShotSpotter has only an audio—and not a video—component.⁴¹ This means that once law enforcement agencies receive an alert, the technology provides no additional information about a suspect’s appearance or whereabouts.

B. Fourth Amendment Protections Against Police Surveillance

The Fourth Amendment protects against unreasonable searches and seizures by requiring a warrant which (1) describes particularly the items to be searched, and (2) the probable cause necessitating the warrant.⁴² This Section will outline the Fourth Amendment’s historical and textual bases. Then, it will analyze current Fourth Amendment jurisprudence protecting criminal defendants when law enforcement agencies utilize emerging technologies. It will also outline the

³⁵ Platform, <https://www.shotspotter.com/platform/>, ShotSpotter (last visited Oct. 15, 2021).

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ *About ShotSpotter*, *supra* note 3.

⁴² U.S. CONST. amend. IV.

appropriate context for a *Terry* stop,⁴³ which is an important exception to the warrant requirement.

1. *Law Enforcement's Intrusion on Fourth Amendment Protections Against General Warrants*

Both geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software raises Fourth Amendment concerns because they give law enforcement agencies great discretion to apprehend criminal suspects based on proximity to crime alone. The Fourth Amendment was crafted to combat the arbitrariness of the warrantless general searches that characterized British rule in the colonial era.⁴⁴ Prior to 1750, handbooks used by British justices of peace described only general searches.⁴⁵ General searches required no specificity about the items or records that could be seized during a search.⁴⁶ Provincial courts issued warrants for such searches, authorizing officials to search any house or individual.⁴⁷

The Supreme Court has interpreted the particularity and probable cause required by the Fourth Amendment to be a protection against the permeating police surveillance that such general warrants posed.⁴⁸ Importantly, the specificity required by the Fourth Amendment

⁴³ *Terry* stops were developed in *Terry v. Ohio*, 392 U.S. 1 (1968); *infra* Section I.B (discussing *Terry* stops and the jurisprudence underlying this exception to the warrant rule).

⁴⁴ The Fourth Amendment dictates that “no Warrants shall issue but upon probable cause...and particularly describing the place searched, and the persons or things to be seized.” *Id.* Ample scholarship has noted that the probable cause requirement was raised as a response to the general warrants rampant in the colonies. *See, e.g.*, Leonard W. Levy, *Origins of the Fourth Amendment*, 114 POL. SCI. Q. 79 (1999) (stating that the Fourth Amendment “repudiates general warrants by recognizing a ‘right of the people to be secured in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures.’”); BRUCE A. NEWMAN, AGAINST THAT “POWERFUL ENGINE OF DESPOTISM” 2 (2007).

⁴⁵ Levy, *Origins of the Fourth Amendment*, *supra* note 44.

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ *Id.* at 90. Even more troubling than such general warrants were “writs of assistance”—documents that allowed the Crown’s agents to enter any home within a given vicinity and seize any items deemed appropriate. *See* Newman, NEWMAN, AGAINST THAT “POWERFUL ENGINE OF DESPOTISM,” *supra* note 44.

⁴⁸ *See, e.g.* *Marron v. United States*, 275 U.S. 192, 195 (1927) (stating that “the requirement of the Fourth Amendment that warrants shall particularly describe the things to be seized makes general searches under them impossible, and prevents the seizure of one thing under a warrant describing another.”); *Riley v. California*, 134 S.

guarantees that “nothing is left to the discretion of the officer executing the warrant.”⁴⁹ In *Ybarra v. Illinois*, the Court held that a warrant to search a bar and bartender did not give police the power to search every person who happened to be at the bar.⁵⁰ *Ybarra* seems to protect against the use of proximity as a proxy—just because an individual was at the bar where a crime occurred, did not enable the police to search every individual at the bar.

While traditional jurisprudence is somewhat helpful in the present context, the Supreme Court has acknowledged that “seismic shifts in digital technology” present novel issues to jurisprudence protecting against general warrants.⁵¹ While new technologies provide meaningful assistance in identifying criminal suspects, they also raise privacy concerns unanticipated by the drafters of the Fourth Amendment.⁵² As law enforcement agencies adopt new technologies, courts often struggle to categorize new tools using traditional Fourth Amendment standards.⁵³ For this reason, Fourth Amendment jurisprudence regarding emerging technology is somewhat

Ct. 2473, 1494 (2014) (noting that the Fourth Amendment was the “founding generation’s response to the reviled ‘general warrants’ and ‘writs of assistance’ of the colonial era.”); *Groh v. Ramirez*, 540 U.S. 551, 557 (2004) (requires both probable cause and “particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.”); *Camara v. Municipal Court of City and County of San Francisco*, 387 U.S. 523, 528 (1967) (stating that the Fourth Amendment was intended to “safeguard the privacy and security of individuals against arbitrary invasions by governmental officials); *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S. Ct. 2206, 2214. (2018) (noting that the Fourth Amendment is meant to “place obstacles in the way of a too permeating police surveillance.”).

⁴⁹ *Marron*, 275 U.S. at 195.

⁵⁰ *Ybarra v. Illinois*, 444 U.S. 85 (1979). The Supreme Court has upheld the analysis in *Marron* and *Ybarra* in recent caselaw. *See Thornton v. United States*, 541 U.S. 615, 629 (2004) (iterating that a search can be justified only by the specific crime for the particular crime for which a suspect has been arrested).

⁵¹ *Carpenter*, 138 S. Ct. at 2219 (2018). While this Note focuses most specifically on technologies tracking one’s location, the Supreme Court has considered law enforcement’s use of emerging technologies generally for over a century. For example, in *Olmstead v. United States*, the Supreme Court held that wiretapping did not qualify as a search or seizure under the Fourth Amendment, because law enforcement officials could not “seize” conversations in the same way they could seize physical materials. *See* 277 U.S. 438 (1928).

⁵² Recent scholarship has documented that our understanding of what is protected under the Fourth Amendment is consistently expanding. The Fourth Amendment protects “persons, houses, papers, and effects.” U.S. CONST. amend. IV. These protected categories “have expanded as the meanings of these terms has evolved over time.” *See* Andrew Guthrie Ferguson, *The Internet of Things and the Fourth Amendment of Effects*, 104 CAL. L. REV. 805, 808 (2016). “Papers” has expanded to include “digital recordings, writings, business documents, and other communications.” *Id.* “Effects” is not precisely defined by the Fourth Amendment, but in today’s parlance, it certainly includes a smartphone. *Id.*

⁵³ *See*, e.g. Margaret Hu, *Cybersurveillance Intrusions and an Evolving Katz Privacy Test*, 55 AM. CRIM. L. REV. 127, 129 (2018) (stating that emerging technologies often fall outside the scope of existing Fourth Amendment precedent).

convoluted. However, in the past decade, the Supreme Court has demonstrated “a willingness to protect against surveillance, even if they unable to clearly articulate why.”⁵⁴

Justice Harlan’s concurrence in *Katz v. United States* outlines the two-prong test used to assess whether law enforcement’s use of technology violates the Fourth Amendment.⁵⁵ First, a court must determine whether an individual has “exhibited an actual (subjective) expectation of privacy.”⁵⁶ Second, the court decides whether “society is prepared to recognize [the expectation] as reasonable.”⁵⁷ *Katz*—decided in 1967—proved useful for technologies adopted by law enforcement agencies in the mid-twentieth century.⁵⁸ These technologies were far less invasive than present-day technologies, like geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software.⁵⁹

Since *Katz*, the Supreme Court has made carveouts for certain types of technology, including when a technology precisely tracks an individual’s location. For example, in *United States v. Jones*, the Court held that using a GPS tracker to monitor the location of a suspect’s car raised

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ *Katz v. United States*, 389 U.S. 347 (1967). In *Katz*, federal agents attached an electronic device to the outside of a public phone booth to record the conversations of an individual suspected of violating federal law. *Id.* at 347. At trial, the government introduced audio recordings from the individual’s side of the conversation. *Id.* On appeal, *Katz* argued that the recordings were impermissible evidence and the Supreme Court affirmed, holding that the devices were an intrusion of his expectation of private conversations, because “The Fourth Amendment protects people—and not simply ‘areas.’” *Id.* at 352.

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ *Katz* specifically dealt with electronic trackers, but other early cases citing *Katz* have involved beepers. *See, e.g., United States v. Karo*, 468 U.S. 705, 717 (1984) (holding that agents violated defendants’ right to privacy by monitoring a beeper); *United States v. Michael*, 622 F.2d 744, 752 (5th Cir. 1980) (stating that neither exigent circumstances nor probable cause existed to justify attaching a beeper to a defendant’s van).

⁵⁹ Not only are emerging technologies more invasive, but they are also more rapidly updated, creating a cycle by which courts cannot keep up with the Fourth Amendment risks they pose. This places *Katz* on especially uneven territory, because by the time a court sees a case, a technology may have already been updated to further threaten both the subjective and objective expectation of privacy. For a broader discussion of the implications of *Katz* in the face of modern-day technology, *see* Rachel Levinson-Waldman, *Hiding in Plain Sight: A Fourth Amendment Framework for Analyzing Government Surveillance in Public*, 66 EMORY L.J. 527, 552 (2017) [hereinafter “*Hiding in Plain Sight*”] (noting that *Katz*’s approach places “the government in an enviable position: when a technology is first introduced, it is new...it is clumsy. [But when society] has begun to grasp its true implications, it is too late; only an out-of-touch Luddite could be said not to understand.”).

Fourth Amendment concerns.⁶⁰ During oral argument, Justice Sotomayor drew a parallel between GPS tracking and a general warrant, noting that “indiscriminate surveillance is the foundation of the Fourth Amendment.”⁶¹ More recently, in *Carpenter v. United States*, the Supreme Court evaluated the use of cell site location information (CSLI).⁶² A search of such records—according to a majority of the Court—violated the Fourth Amendment, because an individual has a reasonable expectation of privacy in his physical movements.⁶³ In particular, data gleaned from CSLI was overwhelmingly intimate and fine-grained.

As the Court implied in *Jones*⁶⁴ and made explicit in *Carpenter*,⁶⁵ certain technologies are especially threatening to Fourth Amendment protections because they require law enforcement agencies to expend few resources. In these cases, the Supreme Court has departed from the *Katz* model, instead balancing the invasiveness of a technology against the relative ease with which a law enforcement agency can acquire such data.⁶⁶ *Jones* and *Carpenter* thus carve out an important exception to traditional Fourth Amendment jurisprudence, which lends little

⁶⁰ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (2012). The Supreme Court was especially concerned that the GPS monitoring took place over the course of a full month and produced over 2,000 pages of data. *Id.*

⁶¹ Transcript of Oral Argument at 29-30, *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (No. 10-1259).

⁶² *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S. Ct. 2206 (2018). CSLI is typically collected by nearby cell towers and can pinpoint the physical location of a cellphone. The records enable law enforcement officials to access the date and time of calls and the approximate location of the individuals during the calls. Likewise, in *Riley v. California*, the Supreme Court held that data provides a trove of data a persons’ private life, noting that a cell phone “contains in digital form many sensitive records previously found in the home; it also contains a broad array of private information never found in a home in any form—unless the phone is. 134 S. Ct. 2473 at 2478 (2014); *see also* *United States v. Powell*, 943 F. Supp. 2d 759, 780 (E.D. Mich. 2013) (stating that cell phones are “the easiest means to gather the most comprehensive data about a person’s public—and *private*—movements available.”)

⁶³ *Carpenter*, 585 U.S. 1 (2018). In *Carpenter*, law enforcement officials arrested four men for armed robbery. *Id.* One of the men confessed, and gave FBI officials his phone number, as well as the phone numbers of the other participants. *Id.* The FBI then applied for orders under the Stored Communications Act, as was customary for law enforcement officials seeking transactional records. *Id.*

⁶⁴ Transcript of Oral Argument at 36, *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (No. 10-1259) (expressing concern that GPS devices could attach to all vehicles and cheaply accessed by government or law enforcement agencies).

⁶⁵ *Carpenter*, 585 U.S. at 2223 (affirming that “the progress of science...does not erode” privacy protections and “a person does not surrender [such] rights by venturing into the public sphere.”).

⁶⁶ *See* Transcript of Oral Argument at 57-58, *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (No. 10-1259); *see also* Margaret Hu, *Orwell’s 1984 and a Fourth Amendment Cybersurveillance Nonintrusion Test*, 92 WASH. L. REV. 1819 (2018) (arguing that the Supreme Court’s departure from *Katz* in recent Fourth Amendment jurisprudence is warranted).

expectation of privacy in public areas.⁶⁷ As emerging technologies become more ubiquitous and the costs to take advantage of these technologies fall, law enforcement agencies expend fewer and fewer resources to collect vast amounts of data.⁶⁸ These “costs” are not just the upfront costs to purchase the technology; instead, they also include the ease with which the technology can prevent law enforcement agencies from deploying law enforcement officers directly to a crime scene.⁶⁹

The majority opinion in *Carpenter* also imposed limitations on the “third-party doctrine”—by which information supplied to a third party carried no reasonable expectation of privacy.⁷⁰ According to the Court, while the third-party doctrine was appropriate in situations in which an individual meant to provide such data to a third party, this information is not provided affirmatively in the case of cell phone records.⁷¹ While the Supreme Court has not yet considered

⁶⁷ See *United States v. Knotts*, 460 U.S. 276, 281 (1983) (holding that law enforcement tracking an automobile via radio transmitter did not violate the Fourth Amendment, since the expectation of privacy on a public road is lower than one’s expectation of privacy in one’s home).

⁶⁸ See Justine Morris, *Surveillance by Amazon: The Warrant Requirement, Tech Exceptionalism, & Ring Security*, 27 B.U. J. SCI. & TECH. L. 237 (2021) (arguing that Amazon Ring police portal provides easy access to vast amounts of data, requiring minimal effort or money by law enforcement agencies); see also *Hiding in Plain Sight*, *supra* note 1 at 529 (2017) (noting that “the stock-in-trade of good policing often involves the real-time observation of people going about their daily business. This kind of visual observation, while potentially intrusive or discomfiting to the subject or passersby, does not raise constitutional issues. It is also, however, cost-and-resource intensive.”).

⁶⁹ See *Hiding in Plain Sight*, *supra* note 1 (stating that the “cost of a device itself will be amortized over its life, which will vary depending on the type of device, the frequency of its use, and the regularity with which new technologies are developed and rolled out); see also Kevin S. Bankston & Ashkan Soltani, *Tiny Constables and the Cost of Surveillance: Making Cents Out of United States v. Jones*, 123 YALE L.J. ONLINE 335, 341 (2014) [hereinafter *Making Cents Out of United States v. Jones*].

⁷⁰ For a description of the third-party doctrine, see generally Michael Gentithes, *App Permissions and the Third-Party Doctrine*, 59 WASHBURN L.J. 35 (2020); Tricia A. Martino, *Fear of Change: Carpenter v. United States and Third-Party Doctrine*, 58 DUQ. L. REV. 353 (2020); Shawn Bass, *The Outdated Third-Party Doctrine and the Need for Modernization*, 65 N.Y. L. SCH. L. REV. 259 (2020); Neil Richards, *The Third Party Doctrine and the Future of the Cloud*, 94 WASH. U. L. REV. 1441 (2017).

⁷¹ *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S. Ct. 2206, 2219 (2018) (stating that “privacy protections do not fall out of the picture entirely” because individuals do not “voluntarily assume the risk of turning over a comprehensive dossier of his physical movements.”); see also Kearston L. Wesner, *Is the Grass Greener on the Other Side of the Geofence: The First Amendment and Privacy Implications of Unauthorized Smartphone Messages*, 10 CASE W. RES. J.L. TECH. & INTERNET [iii] (2019) (iterating that individuals must divulge information about themselves to participate in the Internet of Things, which means that “data commoditization is relatively unrestrained and, predictably, consumers have reduced their privacy expectations”); *Hiding in Plain Sight*, *supra* note 1 at 550 (2017) (stating that “Technology itself—its ubiquity and its convenience—can dynamically change those expectations. As people

law enforcement's use of geofencing warrants or gun detection software, recent jurisprudence has provided a template for lower courts seeking to apply new methods of technology utilized by law enforcement.

2. *Exceptions to the Warrant Rule: Terry Stops*

In some cases, law enforcement agencies can usurp the Fourth Amendment warrant requirement. One such exception is a *Terry* stop, which allows police officers to stop and detain an individual if they have “reasonable suspicion” that the individual is armed or involved in criminal conduct.⁷² Reasonable suspicion is a lower standard than probable cause, which is the standard required for a law enforcement officer to make an arrest.⁷³ Subsequent cases have provided context on the situations in which reasonable suspicion exists. One important line of cases examines whether an anonymous tip plays a role in forming the requisite reasonable suspicion for a *Terry* stop. In *Alabama v. White*, the Supreme Court noted that the information must corroborate an anonymous tip to provide an officer with reasonable suspicion.⁷⁴ Subsequently, in *Florida v. J.L.*, the Supreme Court held that a tip must have some degree of reliability beyond merely identify a potential crime.⁷⁵ An anonymous tip must specify why

become more reliant on their devices, the technology may seem less intrusive, making the apparent privacy risks recede as well.”).

⁷² See *Terry v. Ohio*, 392 U.S. 1 (1968). In *Terry*, the Supreme Court upheld a police officer's search of an individual when he was engaged in conduct that precipitated an armed robbery. *Id.* at 15.

⁷³ See *Mallory v. United States*, 354 U.S. 449, 454 (1957) (noting that “police may not arrest upon mere suspicion but only on ‘probable cause.’”). The Supreme Court reasoned that the central inquiry in *Terry* stop cases is whether an officer's conduct is “reasonable.” *Terry*, 392 U.S. 1 at 20. The reasonableness standard rests on whether a law enforcement officer can point to facts that would lead a neutral party to conclude that an individual was engaged in possible criminal conduct. *Id.*

⁷⁴ *Alabama v. White*, 496 U.S. 325, 327 (1990). In *White*, a caller indicated that someone would leave a specific address at a given time, in a given vehicle, with a briefcase of drugs. *Id.* at 325. The police observed the individual leaving the location and car matching the description. *Id.* In determining the standard for “reasonable suspicion”, the Supreme Court opined that since reasonable suspicion was a lower bar than probable cause, a police officer could have less reliable information. *Id.* at 330; see also *Adams v. Williams* (holding that an unverified tip from an anonymous informant may not establish probable cause but can justify a *Terry* stop).

⁷⁵ *Florida v. J.L.*, 529 U.S. 266 (2000). In *Florida v. J.L.*, law enforcement officials responded to an anonymous tip that a Black male had a handgun. *Id.* They arrived on the scene, saw a man fitting the description, reached into the man's pocket, and seized the gun. *Id.* The Supreme Court held that simply describing a suspect in a particular location does not satisfy the reasonable suspicion necessary to justify a *Terry* stop. *Id.*

behavior is illegal, and not just identify an individual.⁷⁶ Together, these cases establish an anonymous tip needs either independent corroboration or specific details about *future* illegal conduct to create the requisite reasonable suspicion for a *Terry* stop. *Terry* stops have played an important role in litigation involving gunshot detection software. Often, law enforcement agencies argue that technologies like ShotSpotter serve as anonymous tips with the requisite reasonable suspicion of an ongoing crime.⁷⁷

II. FOURTH AMENDMENT CONCERNS RAISED BY GEOFENCING WARRANTS AND GUNSHOT LOCATION SOFTWARE

Because geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software provide reason to apprehend a criminal suspect based on location alone, it is important to evaluate the constitutional concerns posed by these technologies. This Part examines and compares the Fourth Amendment concerns posed by geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software. Part II.A analyzes the Fourth Amendment concerns raised when geofencing warrants lack particularity and probable cause. Part II.B examines the Fourth Amendment concerns raised by gunshot detection software, arguing that the software can serve as (1) justification to search as if with a general warrant, and (2) an anonymous tip lacking sufficient specificity or corroboration. Part II.B.2 will outline existing caselaw involving ShotSpotter, identifying why such litigation has been unsuccessful.

A. Geofencing Warrants Pose Grave Fourth Amendment Concerns

This Section analyzes geofencing warrants using existing Supreme Court Fourth Amendment caselaw. First, Section II.A.1 explains why geofencing warrants pose Fourth Amendment concerns using *Jones*⁷⁸ and *Carpenter*⁷⁹ as a guide. This Section will also argue that the third-

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ See *infra* Section I.B (discussing recent litigation in which prosecutors have successfully argued that ShotSpotter is an anonymous tip justifying a *Terry* stop).

⁷⁸ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (2012).

⁷⁹ *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S. Ct. 2206 (2018).

party doctrine is not a viable defense of geofencing warrants.⁸⁰ In Section II.A.B, I will outline existing caselaw protecting criminal defendants in the face of geofencing warrants.⁸¹

1. *Analyzing Geofencing Warrants Based on Supreme Court Jurisprudence*

Geofencing warrants rarely specify the particularity and probable cause required by the Fourth Amendment.⁸² Regardless, these warrants often place precise locational data in the hands of law enforcement agencies. Applying the framework iterated by the Supreme Court in *Jones*⁸³ and *Carpenter*⁸⁴ to geofencing warrants highlights the Fourth Amendment concerns these warrants raise. Similar to GPS technology and CSLI data, geofencing warrants also pull locational data with great precision.⁸⁵ Geofencing warrants are thus analogous to the CSLI data in *Carpenter*, because they rely on location data pulled from an individual’s cellphone. Cellphones hold “a broad array of private information”⁸⁶ and tracking location via cellphone usage poses the same threat of “indiscriminate surveillance” that the Supreme Court struck down in *Carpenter*.⁸⁷ In *Jones*, Justice Sotomayor expressed concern that a location tracking device could cheaply and efficiently attach to all vehicles, providing government agencies access to the location data of individuals.⁸⁸ Geofencing warrants bring this threat to life—law enforcement agencies do not need to expend many resources when issuing geofencing warrants. Because technology companies collect the locational data,⁸⁹ agencies need only request the data via

⁸⁰ I will expand on this *infra* Section II.A.1.

⁸¹ This Section will focus specifically on how particularity and probable cause required by the Fourth Amendment are not present in many geofencing warrants.

⁸² See *supra* Section I.B.1 (expressing the requirements set forth for constitutional warrants under the Fourth Amendment).

⁸³ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (2012).

⁸⁴ *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S. Ct. 2206 (2018).

⁸⁵ Geofencing warrants collect locational data with great precision. For greater detail on the mechanics that enable such precision, see *generally supra* Section I.A.1.

⁸⁶ *Riley v. California*, 134 S. Ct. 2473 (2014).

⁸⁷ *Carpenter*, 138 S. Ct. at 2214.

⁸⁸ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (No. 10-1259).

⁸⁹ See *supra* Section I.A.1 (discussing the mechanics of the data collection practices underlying geofencing warrants).

warrant. Thus, geofencing warrants pose fewer costs than those associated with planting a GPS tracker in *Jones*.⁹⁰ By balancing the low cost of obtaining geofencing warrant data with the high threat of intrusion, geofencing warrants pose many of the same constitutional concerns that the Supreme Court has identified in Fourth Amendment jurisprudence.

The third-party doctrine may appear a viable defense of geofencing warrants. After all, the Supreme Court's decision in *Carpenter* was narrow, rejecting the third-party doctrine in the context of CSLI data without eliminating the doctrine entirely.⁹¹ However, the Court's reasoning seems to extend to the context of geofencing warrants. The Supreme Court first noted that its jurisprudence is especially protective against technology that provides detailed locational information.⁹² But *Carpenter* also questioned "voluntary exposure"—central to the third-party doctrine—in the context of technology that can pull an individual's data.⁹³ First, smartphones are pervasive in modern-day society.⁹⁴ Second, individuals do not affirmatively agree to data-sharing each time they use their cellphone. Instead, most apps require initial consent of location data—this consent allows the app to track this data indefinitely, unless a consumer affirmatively turns off data sharing.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (2012).

⁹¹ See *Carpenter*, 138 S. Ct. at 2210 (stating that "this decision is narrow."). In *Carpenter*, the Supreme Court "while the third-party doctrine applies to telephone numbers and bank records, it is not clear whether its logic extends to the qualitatively different category of cell-site records." It thus refused to extend the third-party doctrine to a "detailed and comprehensive record of person's movements." *Id.*

⁹² *Id.* at 2219. (holding that "the Court has in fact already shown special solicitude for location information in the third-party context.").

⁹³ *Id.* at 2220 (holding that voluntary exposure does not apply in the context of CSLI). In *Carpenter*, the Supreme Court noted that the location of a cell phone is not "truly 'shared' as one normally understands the term....Virtually any activity on the phone generates CSLI, including incoming calls, texts, or e-mails and countless other data connections that a phone automatically makes when checking for news, weather, or social media updates." *Id.*

⁹⁴ Empirical data shows that a majority of Americans owns a smartphone. Mobile Fact Sheet, PEW RESEARCH CENTER (Apr. 7, 2021), <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/fact-sheet/mobile/> ("the vast majority of Americans—97%—now own a cellphone of some kind. The share of Americans that own a smartphone is now 85%, up from just 35% in Pew Research Center's first survey of smartphone ownership conducted in 2011).

⁹⁵ See Hu, *Cybersurveillance Intrusions and an Evolving Katz Privacy Test*, *supra* note 11 at 148 (stating that "modern big data technologies necessitate sharing private information with a wide range of third parties."). For

For these reasons, location data poses the concern raised by Justice Sotomayor in *Jones* that a location tracker could attach to all vehicles, providing access to government agencies.⁹⁶

Allowing law enforcement agencies unfettered access to this location data would enable an extension of the third-party doctrine that is in no way limited by the particularity and probable cause requirements of the Fourth Amendment. Geofencing warrants similarly collect locational data from cellphones, thus raising the same concerns as CSLI data. The Supreme Court has not yet granted *certiorari* in any cases involving geofencing warrants, but lower courts have started to identify the grave Fourth Amendment concerns the practice raises.

2. *Litigation Striking Down Geofencing Warrants on Fourth Amendment Grounds*

District courts in Illinois and Kansas have upheld motions to suppress data pulled from geofencing warrants.⁹⁷ These opinions held that the geofencing warrants at issue lacked both the particularity and probable cause required by the Fourth Amendment. These opinions tie together Fourth Amendment jurisprudence to find that geofencing warrants can serve as general warrants.⁹⁸ First, courts have struck down geofencing as general warrants because they lack probable cause. One of the opinions noted that “if the government can identify [a] wrongdoer only by sifting through the identities of unknown innocent persons without probable cause and in a manner that allows officials to “rummage where they please in order to see what turns up,”

empirical research exploring data sharing habits, *see* Jan Boyles, Aaron Smith, and Mary Madden, Privacy and Data Management on Mobile Devices, PEW RESEARCH CENTER (Sept. 5, 2012), <http://www.pewinternet.org/2012/09/05/privacy-and-data-management-on-mobile-devices/> (finding that 19% of users disabled a phone’s tracking abilities because of privacy concerns).

⁹⁶ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (No. 10- 1259).

⁹⁷ *See In re Search of Information Stored at Premises Controlled by Google*, No. 20 M 297 (D.E. 4) (N.D. Ill. July 8, 2020) (unsealed on July 16, 2020); *In re Search of Info. Stored at Premises Controlled by Google*, No. 20 M 392, 2020 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 152712 (N.D. Ill. Aug. 24, 2020); *In the matter of the Search of Information That Is Stored at the Premises Controlled By Google, LLC*, No. 21-MJ-5064-ADM (D. Kan. Jun. 4, 2021). At the time of this writing, public defenders in San Francisco and Virginia have filed motions to suppress evidence based on geofencing warrants. *See* Motion to Quash and Suppress Evidence at 1, *People v. Dawes*, No. 19002022 (Cal. Sup. Ct. 2020); Motion to Suppress Evidence Obtained from a “Geofence” General Warrant, *U.S. v. Chatrie*, No. 3:19cr130 (E.D. Va. 2020).

⁹⁸ *Id.*

then courts should strike down the process.⁹⁹ The court noted that a law enforcement agency must provide “sufficient information on how and why cellphones may contain evidence of the crime” in order to meet the probable cause standard of the Fourth Amendment.¹⁰⁰ In this case, there was probable cause that a federal crime occurred at the identified location, but not that Google’s location records would lead to a list of suspects.¹⁰¹

Second, district courts have noted that geofencing warrants lack the particularity required by the Fourth Amendment. It is important to note that this seems to be a characteristic of warrants to search data generally.¹⁰² The Northern District of Illinois held that the geofencing warrant application was not sufficiently particularized because the geofencing boundaries could include data for cellphone users without connection to alleged criminal activity.¹⁰³

Finally, district courts have been willing to extend the third-party doctrine to the context of geofencing warrants. One court noted that it is unlikely that consumers would “affirmatively realize, at the time they begin using the device, that they are providing their location to Google in a way that will result in the government’s ability to obtain—easily, quickly, and cheaply—their precise geographical location at virtually any point in the history of their use of the device.”¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Matter of Search Warrant Application for Geofence Location Data Stored at Google Concerning an Arson Investigation, 497 F. Supp. 3d 345, 353 (N.D. Ill. 2020). The specific details of the criminal investigation were not released, but the court noted that the application sought geofencing data from a “sizeable business establishment” during an hourlong period on the date in question. *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ *Id.* at 41.

¹⁰¹ *Id.* at 4—5. The Kansas District Court similarly noted that while it may be fair to assume that most individuals have cellphones, that does not indicate that the individual has been using a device feeding into Google’s location services. In the matter of the Search of Information That Is Stored at the Premises Controlled By Google, LLC, No. 21-MJ-5064-ADM (D. Kan. Jun. 4, 2021).

¹⁰² See James Czerniawski & Connor Boyack, *Reviewing the Privacy Implications of Law Enforcement Access to and Use of Digital Data*, 5 UTAH J. CRIM. L. 73, 78 (2021) (noting that “the digital nature of data complicates the ability to particularize and narrow a search if officers have access to all contents of a device.”).

¹⁰³ See *In re Search of Information Stored at Premises Controlled by Google*, No. 20 M 297 (D.E. 4) (N.D. Ill. July 8, 2020) (unsealed on July 16, 2020).

¹⁰⁴ *In re Search of Info. Stored at Premises Controlled by Google*, 481 F. Supp. 3d 730, 737.

Geofencing warrants often lack particularity or probable cause, which can lead to inaccuracy in criminal apprehension. Because geofencing warrants turn up data on *every* individual whom a technology company has placed at the scene of a crime, they can perpetuate false arrests by using proximity as a proxy for criminality. For example, Jorge Molina was falsely arrested for murder in Avondale, Arizona, based on Google Maps records.¹⁰⁵ The geofencing warrant had placed Mr. Molina's Google account at the scene of the murder, which law enforcement officials took as a proxy for his physical presence.¹⁰⁶ After Molina had spent almost a week in jail, law enforcement officials identified Molina's mother's ex-boyfriend—Marcos Gaeta—as the likely suspect.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, Zachary McCoy was wrongfully arrested for a burglary based on a geofencing request in Gainesville, Florida.¹⁰⁸ McCoy used RunKeeper, a smartphone application that tracks how many miles an individual runs.¹⁰⁹ Location data provided to RunKeeper placed him at the scene of the burglary, despite the fact that McCoy had never entered the home.¹¹⁰ Law enforcement officials eventually dropped the charges against McCoy because they had insufficient evidence to charge him with a crime.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Meg O'Connor, *Avondale Man Sues After Google Data Leads to Wrongful Arrest for Murder*, PHOENIX NEW TIMES (Jan. 16, 2020, 9:11 AM), <https://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/google-geofence-location-data-avondale-wrongful-arrest-molina-gaeta-11426374>.

¹⁰⁶ Law enforcement officials relied on just two pieces of evidence in arresting Molina— (1) Molina owned a white Honda and a white Honda was seen at the scene of the murder; and (2) location data pulled from Google Maps placed Molina at the scene of the crime. *Id.*

¹⁰⁷ *Id.* Because Molina was logged into his Google account from multiple devices, Google's location tracking services placed him in two places at once. *Id.* Despite the fact that a friend providing an alibi and texts to substantiate that Mr. Molina was not at the crime scene, he was not released from custody until his friend provided Uber receipts and law enforcement officials found a likelier suspect in Gaeta. *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ Kim Lyons, *Google location data turned a random biker into a burglary suspect*, THE VERGE (Mar. 7, 2020 5:23 PM), <https://www.theverge.com/2020/3/7/21169533/florida-google-runkeeper-geofence-police-privacy>.

¹⁰⁹ Jon Schuppe, *Google tracked his bike ride past a burglarized home. That made him a suspect*, NBC NEWS (Mar. 7, 2020), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/google-tracked-his-bike-ride-past-burglarized-home-made-him-n1151761>.

¹¹⁰ Kim Lyons, *Google location data turned a random biker into a burglary suspect*, THE VERGE (Mar. 7, 2020), <https://www.theverge.com/2020/3/7/21169533/florida-google-runkeeper-geofence-police-privacy>.

¹¹¹ *Id.* The impact of an arrest is long-lasting, even if an individual is released. Molina spent six days in jail; as a result of his arrest, he lost his job and suffered irreparable harm to his reputation. *See id.*; *see also* James Czerniawski & Connor Boyack, *Reviewing the Privacy Implications of Law Enforcement Access to and Use of Digital Data*, 5 UTAH J. CRIM. L. 73, 89 (2021).

Even in cases where geofencing warrants are not struck down, their lack of particularity and clear probable cause create conditions in which law enforcement can chill other Constitutional protections. The effect of geofencing warrants has been particularly far-reaching in chilling the First Amendment right to protest. For example, law enforcement agencies used geofencing warrants to admonish protestors in the wake of the murder of George Floyd in 2020.¹¹² Because geofencing warrants can effectively serve as general warrants, law enforcement can track each protestor with a smartphone in “a mass-scale dragnet of location data and other personal identifiers.”¹¹³

The presence of false arrests spurred by geofencing warrants demonstrate perpetuate the exact type of privacy violation that the Fourth Amendment seeks to avoid. Failure to meet the “particularity” and “probable cause” requirements of the Fourth Amendment reaffirm the grave threat that geofencing warrants pose to privacy rights. Specifically, these factors position geofencing warrants as a sort of “general warrant.”

B. ShotSpotter Raises Fourth Amendment Concerns

This Section outlines the Fourth Amendment concerns posed by ShotSpotter, contrasting these concerns with how courts have treated law enforcement’s use of the technology. First, Section II.B.1 will outline why gunshot detection software raises similar concerns that geofencing

¹¹² Katelyn Ringrose & Divya Ramjee, Watch Where You Walk: Law Enforcement Surveillance and Protester Privacy, 11 CALIF. L. REV. ONLINE 349, 355 (2020-2021) (stating that “law enforcement officers can use [data obtained from geofencing warrants] to determine which individuals have frequented a protest and follow that individual’s exact movements.”); California police issued a warrant to technology companies to identify personal information—including telephone numbers and names—of demonstrators at the 2017 protests at the University of California, Berkeley. UCSB Search Warrant, ELECTRONIC FRONTIER FOUNDATION (Aug. 2017). It is worth noting that this use of location tracking precedes geofencing warrants altogether. For example, in 2010, Michigan law enforcement officials were reported to have asked a cellphone provider for information about cellphones that were gathering in the area of an anticipated labor union protest. See *Hiding in Plain Sight*, *supra* note 1 at 531.

¹¹³ *Watch Where You Walk*, *supra* note 112 at 356 (2020-2021). In many of these cases, “protestors might not even know that their data was collected through such a search.”)

warrants raise under *Jones*¹¹⁴ and *Carpenter*.¹¹⁵ This Section then turns to the positive correlation between ShotSpotter alerts and *Terry* stops, exploring why ShotSpotter is an anonymous tip lacking specificity or corroboration.¹¹⁶

1. ShotSpotter Fourth Amendment Concerns Based on Supreme Court Precedent

While the Fourth Amendment concerns raised by geofencing warrants fall more neatly into a Fourth Amendment framework,¹¹⁷ ShotSpotter similarly uses individual location as a proxy for criminality. Therefore, there is reason to consider how the technology fares under existing Supreme Court precedent. ShotSpotter's costs and indefinite duration balance against the technology's potential for invasiveness, posing analogous concerns to the technology struck down in *Jones*¹¹⁸ and *Carpenter*.¹¹⁹ In *Jones*, the Supreme Court raised concerns that the long duration of monitoring—2 months in that case—raised Fourth Amendment concerns.¹²⁰ Since ShotSpotter is stationary, the duration of monitoring can be indefinite. The Supreme Court also called out low costs balanced against intrusion in *Jones* and *Carpenter*.¹²¹ While ShotSpotter has heftier upfront costs than geofencing warrants, the technology can save the costs of deploying officers to patrol the areas in which the technology is deployed.¹²²

¹¹⁴ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (2012).

¹¹⁵ *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S. Ct. 2206 (2018).

¹¹⁶ See CHI. POLICE DEP'T, THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT'S USE OF SHOTSPOTTER TECHNOLOGY 19 (2021), <https://igchicago.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Chicago-Police-Departments-Use-of-ShotSpotter-Technology.pdf>.

¹¹⁷ See *supra* Part II.A.1 (discussing the Fourth Amendment concerns posed by geofencing warrants).

¹¹⁸ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (2012).

¹¹⁹ *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S. Ct. 2206 (2018).

¹²⁰ *Jones*, 565 U.S. at 402.

¹²¹ See *Jones*, 565 U.S. at 419 (stating that while law enforcement may have briefly pursued a suspect before the advent of technology that made location tracking easier, doing so “for any extended period of time was difficult and costly and therefore rarely undertaken”); *Carpenter*, 138 S. Ct. at 2217 (noting that GPS monitoring and cell phone tracking is “remarkably easy, cheap, and efficient compared to traditional investigative tools.”).

¹²² See *Making Cents Out of United States v. Jones*, *supra* note 69.

Of course, these concerns must be balanced against the invasiveness of the technology itself.¹²³ ShotSpotter is distinguishable from the GPS technology in *Jones*,¹²⁴ since it is not technically a tracking device. Regardless, it often provides blanket “probable cause” to law enforcement officials to search any individual once an alert is sounded.¹²⁵ In considering ShotSpotter’s intrusiveness, it is worth noting that the technology does not inculcate the third-party doctrine—which, even after *Carpenter*—provides a shield to certain types of technology used by law enforcement.¹²⁶ In the case of ShotSpotter, individuals are not affirmatively providing consent to a third-party. Instead, they can be apprehended simply for walking or driving when a law enforcement officer receives an alert.

Empirical research has revealed that there is a positive correlation between ShotSpotter alerts and *Terry* stops.¹²⁷ A report by the Chicago Office of the Inspector General (OIG) found that officers often note ShotSpotter alerts as the element providing reasonable suspicion for a stop leading to an arrest during a *Terry* stop.¹²⁸ Because the software alerts police to the sound of gunshots, the technology effectively serves as an anonymous tip. Therefore, it is important to consider whether ShotSpotter can provide the requisite “probable cause” for a *Terry* stop.¹²⁹ As established in *J.L.*¹³⁰ and *White*,¹³¹ an anonymous tip must be independently corroborated or

¹²³ See *supra* Section I.B.1 (outlining Fourth Amendment jurisprudence).

¹²⁴ For a discussion, see *supra* Part I.B.1.

¹²⁵ See *infra* (discussing how courts often allow a ShotSpotter alert to give law enforcement officials virtually unfettered grounds to search anyone in a given vicinity).

¹²⁶ See *supra* Part I.B.1 (discussing the third-party doctrine).

¹²⁷ A report conducted by the Chicago Office of the Inspector General (OIG) found a positive correlation between ShotSpotter deployment and *Terry* stops. See CHI. POLICE DEP’T, THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT’S USE OF SHOTSPOTTER TECHNOLOGY 19 (2021), <https://igchicago.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Chicago-Police-Departments-Use-of-ShotSpotter-Technology.pdf>. ShotSpotter deployment led to a total of 1,056 investigatory stop reports (ISRs). *Id.* This amounted to a *Terry* stop as a result of 2.1% of total ShotSpotter alerts.

¹²⁸ *Id.*

¹²⁹ See *id.* (in which law enforcement officers used a ShotSpotter alert to justify a *Terry* stop).

¹³⁰ *Florida v. J.L.*, 529, U.S. 266 (2000).

¹³¹ *Alabama v. White*, 496 U.S. 325, 327 (1990).

provide specificity about the likelihood of future illegal conduct.¹³² In terms of predicting future crime, ShotSpotter poses an anonymous tip closer to that in *J.L.* than *White*.¹³³ Relaying a past gunshot does not suggest with any specificity that further crime will occur. A stronger argument can be made when ShotSpotter is used to apprehend criminal suspects in cases where multiple alerts signaled an ongoing crime. However, law enforcement agencies often apprehend criminal suspects based on one stop alone.¹³⁴

The alerts themselves also do not serve as independent corroboration. Concerns about reliability are exacerbated by the fact that legal and statistical research questions ShotSpotter's accuracy. An *Associated Press* investigation found that the technology often misses live gunfire, while simultaneously mischaracterizing everyday activities as gunfire.¹³⁵ These mischaracterizations can lead to false arrests, similar to those in cases involving geofencing warrants.¹³⁶ In one case, a man accused of murder based on audio from ShotSpotter, despite a lack of motive or eyewitnesses.¹³⁷ Law enforcement officials eventually released the man because of insufficient evidence.¹³⁸ This case demonstrates the risk of ShotSpotter data serving as a proxy for an anonymous tip.¹³⁹

¹³² For a broader discussion about the Supreme Court's jurisprudence regarding anonymous tips, see *supra* Part I.B.2.

¹³³ *Id.*

¹³⁴ See, e.g., Transcript of Suppression Hearing at 67, *U.S. v. Rickmon*, 952 F.3d 876 (7th Cir. 2020) (No. 20-744).

¹³⁵ Garance Burke et al., How AI-powered tech landed man in jail with scant evidence, *ASSOCIATED PRESS* (Aug. 19, 2021). Notably, a number of cities—including Charlotte, San Antonio, and Fall River, Massachusetts—opted to stop using ShotSpotter after the technology sparked a number of such false reports. See *id.*; see also Brian Fraga, 'False alarms' lead Fall River to ditch ShotSpotter system, *HERALD NEWS* (Jul. 27, 2017); see also ShotSpotter is deployed overwhelmingly in Black and Latinx neighborhoods in Chicago, *MACARTHUR JUSTICE CENTER* (finding that the technology generated over 41,000 dead-end police deployments in Chicago, comprising 88.7% total ShotSpotter alerts).

¹³⁶ See Burke et al., How AI-powered tech landed man in jail with scant evidence, *supra* note 136.

¹³⁷ *Id.* Michael Williams was arrested based on ShotSpotter data alone. *Id.* In that case, Williams was driving a car and a passenger was shot in a drive-by shooting. *Id.* Police officers arrested Williams based on ShotSpotter audio that placed him at the scene of the crime. In naming Williams a suspect, prosecutors were unable to produce a motive or any additional eyewitnesses. *Id.*

¹³⁸ *Id.* Williams was eventually released due to insufficient evidence, but the arrest cost him his job and did permanent damage to his reputation. *Id.*

¹³⁹ Williams' case is not unique. ShotSpotter data has been admitted in at least 200 cases as of August 2021. *Id.*

To bolster the argument against using ShotSpotter as the sole basis for reasonable suspicion, two circuits found that the sound of gunshots alone do not provide sufficient grounds to stop every individual in a geographic radius.¹⁴⁰ In *United States v. Delaney*, the D.C. Circuit reversed the district court's denial of a motion to suppress evidence, holding that "the specificity [required by the Fourth Amendment] is precisely what is missing [in that case]."¹⁴¹ In *United States v. Curry*, the Fourth Circuit held that the sound of gunshots alone did not warrant stopping an individual who did not act in a way that caused any suspicion.¹⁴² Ultimately, the Fourth Circuit found that gunshots do not constitute an "exigent circumstance" that allows law enforcement officers to sidestep the reasonable suspicion required by *Terry*.¹⁴³

At the heart of the Fourth Amendment concerns between ShotSpotter data and an individual suspect is the tenuous connection between the alert and the individual who committed a crime. In fact, law enforcement's practice of stopping any individual in the vicinity when they receive an alert essentially removes any requirement of particularity or probable cause required by the Fourth Amendment.¹⁴⁴

2. *The Gap Between Recent Decisions and Fourth Amendment Protections*

¹⁴⁰ *United States v. Delaney*, 955 F.3d 1077 (D.C. Cir. 2020); *United States v. Curry*, 965 F.3d 313 (4th Cir. 2020)(en banc).

¹⁴¹ *Delaney*, 955 F.3d at 1077. In *Delaney*, law enforcement officials heard gunfire in multiple directions. *Id.* They then saw that one of the cars in a nearby parking lot was occupied and instructed the passengers to open the door. *Id.* In reversing the district court's decision, the D.C. Circuit noted that nothing differentiated the detained individual from any other individual. *Id.*

¹⁴² *Curry*, 965 F.3d at 313. In *Curry*, officers patrolled a housing community and heard gunshots. *Id.* They then found men walking in a nearby open field, where they believed shots were fired. *Id.* While the men did not act in a way that caused suspicion, the officers searched them and charged one individual as a felon in possession of a firearm. *Id.*

¹⁴³ See *id.* (finding that the "exigent circumstances" exception to *Terry*'s reasonable suspicion requirement is narrow. Those exceptions include (1) pursuing a fleeing suspect, (2) protecting individuals at risk of imminent harm, or (3) preventing the imminent destruction of evidence).

¹⁴⁴ See *supra* Part I.B.1 (discussing the constitutional requirements of warrants).

Thus far, courts have refused to suppress evidence on Fourth Amendment grounds.¹⁴⁵ In *Rickmon v. United States*, the Seventh Circuit found in favor of the government, characterizing ShotSpotter as an anonymous tip.¹⁴⁶ The majority opinion lays out certain factors justifying the law enforcement officer's reliance on the ShotSpotter alert, including the fact that his car was the only car on the road, and the alert occurred early in the morning when not many cars were on the road.¹⁴⁷ The D.C. Circuit ruled similarly in *Funderburk v. United States*, finding that although the officers who apprehended a criminal suspect had no corroborating information about a potential suspect, but that "sometimes the universe of potential suspects will be small enough that no description at all will be required to justify a stopping for investigation."¹⁴⁸ Similar to *Rickmon*, the D.C. Circuit found that the "anonymous tip" did not provide "doubtful veracity."¹⁴⁹ Trial courts have followed the Seventh Circuit and D.C. Circuit, using ShotSpotter alerts as a license for reasonable suspicion.¹⁵⁰

Here, it is important to identify the gap between Fourth Amendment jurisprudence and the litigation involving ShotSpotter. Courts that have denied Fourth Amendment claims have failed to consider what constitutes proper corroboration of an anonymous tip,¹⁵¹ and the ease with

¹⁴⁵ Litigants have found limited success in bringing evidentiary challenges to the use of ShotSpotter's data in court. For example, in *People v. Hardy*, a California appellate court held that a ShotSpotter audio recording could not be admitted because the trial court did not conduct an evidentiary hearing to assess the evidence's scientific reliability. 65 Cal. App. 5th 312 (Cal. App. 2021) (noting that ShotSpotter data is scientific, and thus must meet the *Kelly* and *Frye* standard under California common law).

¹⁴⁶ See *Rickmon v. United States* 952 F.3d 876, 884 (7th Cir. 2020). In *Rickmon*, the court noted that ShotSpotter provided an anonymous tip that was then corroborated by 911 calls. *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ *Id.* at 884.

¹⁴⁸ 260 A.3d 652, 657 (D.C. Cir. 2021).

¹⁴⁹ *Id.* at 657. In *Funderbunk*, the court held that the officers heard "several gunshots" and a "commotion" which sounded like an argument. *Id.*

¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., *United States v. Garcia*, 2021 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 92945 (N.D. Oh. 2021) (finding that while a ShotSpotter alert—similar to a neighbor's report—does not by itself provide reasonable suspicion, but can be corroborated because officers followed the alert and spoke with other individuals); *United States v. Dias*, 2020 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 191250 (S.D.N.Y. 2020) (finding that ShotSpotter was one piece in a larger puzzle of the "totality of circumstances," creating reasonable suspicion for a *Terry* stop).

¹⁵¹ See *supra* Part I.B.2 (discussing what is needed to properly corroborate an anonymous tip).

which a ShotSpotter alert can superimpose the particularity and probable cause requirements of the Fourth Amendment.¹⁵² Under *Delaney*¹⁵³ and *Curry*,¹⁵⁴ gunshots that law enforcement officers heard directly could not provide the reasonable suspicion needed for a *Terry* stop. There is no data suggesting that ShotSpotter data is any more reliable than the firsthand identification of gunshots.¹⁵⁵ In fact, a ShotSpotter engineer testified that ShotSpotter’s data is “not perfect” and that the “dot on the map is simply a starting point.”¹⁵⁶

Adding to concerns about reliability are allegations that the company has complied with requests from law enforcement agencies to manipulate data when data is used in court. In a 2016 criminal trial in Rochester, New York, defense counsel identified that a ShotSpotter employee reclassified sounds from a helicopter to a gunshot.¹⁵⁷ The employee acknowledged that the company reclassified the data in response to a Rochester Police Department request, testifying that this was normal company policy.¹⁵⁸

The strongest cases for corroboration of a ShotSpotter alert are those cases supported by a 911 call.¹⁵⁹ However, as Rickmon’s defense counsel argued in a petition for *certiorari*, a 911 call does not necessarily provide the individualized suspicion that a ShotSpotter alert fails to provide.

¹⁶⁰ ShotSpotter merely alerts law enforcement officials of a gunshot, without providing any

¹⁵² See *supra* Part I.B (discussing the Fourth Amendment concerns that ShotSpotter poses).

¹⁵³ *United States v. Delaney*, 955 F.3d 1077 (D.C. Cir. 2020).

¹⁵⁴ *United States v. Curry*, 965 F.3d 313 (4th Cir. 2020) (en banc).

¹⁵⁵ In fact, evidence supports the contrary notion—that a ShotSpotter alert may not be accurate. In a petition for *certiorari*, attorneys for Rickmon cited both circuit court decisions in an effort to argue against the use of ShotSpotter. See Transcript of Suppression Hearing at 67, *U.S. v. Rickmon*, 952 F.3d 876 (7th Cir. 2020) (No. 20-744).

¹⁵⁶ Todd Feathers, *Police Are Telling ShotSpotter to Alter Evidence From Gunshot-Detecting AI*, VICE (Jul. 26, 2021).

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

¹⁵⁸ *Id.* The employee—Paul Greene—testified that ShotSpotter “trusts its law enforcement customers to be really upfront and honest” with the company. *Id.* Greene gave similar testimony in a San Francisco murder trial in which ShotSpotter employee moved the location of a gunshot a block away to match the scene of the crime.

¹⁵⁹ *Rickmon v. United States* 952 F.3d 876, 884 (7th Cir. 2020).

¹⁶⁰ Petition for Writ of *Certiorari*, *United States v. Rickmon*, cert. denied (No. 20-733) (stating that “a bare-boned tip from a ShotSpotter report does not become any more reliable with an equally bare-boned 911 call.”).

specificity of the circumstances of the shot fired, or the possibility of future crime. Thus, it is worthwhile to distinguish the information the 911 call provides. For example, a call that provides any additional specificity—such as details that help law enforcement officials identify a suspect or provide the direction in which a suspect is moving, may constitute proper corroboration. Under these circumstances, a ShotSpotter would be analogous to the anonymous tip in *White*¹⁶¹—providing an initial alert, but with corroboration that supplies the “reasonable suspicion” needed for a *Terry* stop.

Without this additional corroboration, ShotSpotter alerts lack any sort of particularity or probable cause, usurping Fourth Amendment protections. In his *Rickmon* dissent, Chief Judge Wood makes a compelling argument about the possibility that ShotSpotter will serve as a general warrant.¹⁶² The dissent identifies the weak connection between the alert and a search of *any* individual within the vicinity of a ShotSpotter alert.¹⁶³

When considering the shortcomings of existing caselaw to evaluate the Fourth Amendment concerns posed by gunshot detection software, it is important to take into account how the technology is deployed. In many cases, it appears that ShotSpotter is used to justify a heavy police presence instead of to prevent crime. For example, recent data suggests that ShotSpotter is deployed disproportionately in communities of color.¹⁶⁴ The data collected by the

¹⁶¹ *United States v. White*, 401 U.S. 745, 793 (1971).

¹⁶² 952 F.3d at 885 (J. Wood, dissenting).

¹⁶³ *Id.* Judge Wood writes that the Fourth Amendment prevents police from “simply [forcing] every person or every car to stop, in hopes that they might uncover evidence of crime.” *Id.* He further notes that “the only thing that distinguished the car [the officer] chose to stop was that it existed, and it was the only car on the street at that early hour of the morning.” *Id.* at 886. In fact, in *Rickmon*, the law enforcement officer agreed that he would have stopped any car he saw on the street based on the information he had. *See* Transcript of Suppression Hearing at 67, *U.S. v. Rickmon*, 952 F.3d 876 (7th Cir. 2020) (No. 20-744).

¹⁶⁴ Recent studies show that the Chicago Police Department chose to deploy ShotSpotter technology in twelve districts, which coincided directly with the districts that had the highest proportion of Black and Latinx residents. *See ShotSpotter is deployed overwhelmingly in Black and Latinx neighborhoods in Chicago*, MacArthur Justice Center (Aug. 15, 2021); *Houston city councilmember concerned ShotSpotter may disproportionately impact communities of color*, ABC NEWS (Jan. 22, 2022).

technology is then included in routine crime statistic reporting, exacerbating the cycle of overpolicing in these neighborhoods.¹⁶⁵ While both ShotSpotter alerts and citizen-made 911 calls reporting gunshots resulted in unfounded law enforcement responses, districts deploying ShotSpotter reported between one thousand and five thousand additional unfounded police deployments per district each year.¹⁶⁶ ShotSpotter's deployment in these areas contributes to an increased police presence, but also creates a cycle necessitating future police presence.¹⁶⁷

III. PREVENTING PROXY: USING OPPOSITION TO GEOFENCING WARRANTS AS A FRAMEWORK TO OPPOSE OVERUSE OF GUNSHOT DETECTION SOFTWARE

Although both geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software utilize proximity as a proxy for criminality, criminal defendants challenging the use of geofencing warrants have been more successful than defendants challenging the use of gunshot detection software. A comprehensive approach to this problem requires action in and out of court. This Part begins by explaining how recent litigation strategy opposing geofencing warrants can be a helpful reference point for future litigation in which criminal defendants challenge the use of ShotSpotter. This necessitates an out-of-court approach to bolster Fourth Amendment protections. First, in order provide more comprehensive protection for privacy rights, critics of gunshot detection software can also look to steps taken by critics of geofencing warrants in the policy space. This policy change can in turn place pressure on technology companies to change course.

¹⁶⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶⁶ See *ShotSpotter is deployed overwhelmingly in Black and Latinx neighborhoods in Chicago*, *supra* note 135.

¹⁶⁷ See *id.* (noting that data collected from ShotSpotter is included in CompStat reports, meaning that false reports of gunfire are included in crime statistic reporting).

A. The Litigation Gap: Litigating Fourth Amendment Claims and Why Current Jurisprudence Provides a Murky Path Forward

Fourth Amendment precedent is typically decided narrowly, based on theories focused on law enforcement's targeted actions, rather than overarching technology allowing blanket surveillance or tracking.¹⁶⁸ Defendants seeking to suppress a geofencing warrant follow this framework. In the context of geofencing warrants, criminal defendants focus on the actions taken by law enforcement agencies to apprehend criminal defendants, instead of solely on the broad capabilities technology companies have to surveil individuals.¹⁶⁹ Thus, they focus on individual harm rather than on the harm of the technology more broadly. In contrast, criminal defendants attempting to suppress the use of ShotSpotter tend to focus on the technology's role as an anonymous tip.¹⁷⁰ This can be effective in some cases, but this argument tends to focus more broadly on ShotSpotter's inability to serve as blanket surveillance.

Thus, changing course to focus more closely on the tendency of law enforcement officers to use a ShotSpotter alert to transform proximity into criminality can serve as a stronger Fourth Amendment argument. The dissent in *Rickmon* helps provide a framework to criminal defendants seeking to make this argument.¹⁷¹ While that argument did not find favor with a majority of the court, *Rickmon* can be distinguished from cases in which ShotSpotter is deployed in more densely populated areas.¹⁷² The successful arguments made to suppress geofencing

¹⁶⁸ For a discussion of the narrow holdings protecting the Fourth Amendment rights of criminal defendants, see *supra* Section I.B; see also Hu, *Cybersurveillance Intrusions and an Evolving Katz Privacy Test*, *supra* note at 132 (stating that under *Katz*, courts have analyzed Fourth Amendment challenges by considering targeted law enforcement action, rather than suspicionless mass data tracking programs that encompass all individuals and investigate their data for indicia of suspicion).

¹⁶⁹ See *supra* Part II.A.2 (outlining litigation strategy of criminal defendants seeking to suppress geofencing warrants).

¹⁷⁰ For a detailed discussion of litigation involving ShotSpotter, see *supra* Part I.A.2.

¹⁷¹ *Rickmon v. United States* 952 F.3d 876, 884 (7th Cir. 2020) (Wood, J., dissenting).

¹⁷² *Rickmon*, 952 F.3d at 877 (noting that the reasonable suspicion provided by ShotSpotter was bolstered by the fact that *Rickmon*'s was the only car on the road).

warrants in Illinois and Kansas can serve as a framework for criminal defendants to argue that ShotSpotter alerts provide police officers a license to wrongfully apprehend suspects shortly after an alert is sent out. Litigants who choose to argue that a ShotSpotter alert serves as an anonymous tip without specificity should highlight the circuit split on whether the sound of gunshots can provide reasonable suspicion.¹⁷³

It is also worth acknowledging that the current framework of Fourth Amendment is unlikely to fully capture the success gap between geofencing and gunshot detection software cases.¹⁷⁴ Technological advancement far outpaces the speed at which courts can set comprehensive precedent that protects criminal defendants while providing law enforcement the chance to use technology constitutionally.¹⁷⁵ Thus, as technology continues to evolve, it will present “unprecedented types of society-wide intangible harms that could not have been anticipated at the time *Katz* was decided.”¹⁷⁶

When courts do rule on Fourth Amendment matters—in the context of ShotSpotter, geofencing warrants, or any other technology—precedent often differs from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. For example, until the Supreme Court takes on a relevant case, a criminal defendant in the Fourth or D.C. Circuit is more likely to prevail on a motion to suppress ShotSpotter data than a similarly situated defendant in the Seventh Circuit.¹⁷⁷ Given the narrow holdings of

¹⁷³ See *supra* Part II.B.1 (discussing the circuit split about whether gunshots constitute reasonable suspicion for a *Terry* stop). The Supreme Court has not spoken definitely on whether gunshots can provide the requisite “reasonable suspicion” for a *Terry* stop. If the Court rules that it does, criminal defendants will need to react accordingly.

¹⁷⁴ See, e.g. Hu, *Cybersurveillance Intrusions and an Evolving Katz Privacy Test*, *supra* note at 146 (stating that at oral argument, Justice Harlan noted that the trespass doctrine in Fourth Amendment jurisprudence is “in present day, bad physics as well as bad law, for reasonable expectations of privacy may be defeated by electronic as well as physical invasion.”).

¹⁷⁵ See, e.g. *id.* at 137 (arguing that *Jones*, *Riley*, and other Fourth Amendment cases demonstrate that the *Katz* privacy test poses limitations on law enforcement’s use of new technologies); see also Christopher Slobogin, *Policing as Administration*, 165 U. PA. L. Rev. 91, 93–94 (2016).

¹⁷⁶ See Hu, *Cybersurveillance Intrusions and an Evolving Katz Privacy Test*, *supra* note 11 at 137 (arguing that a “dramatic revision of Fourth Amendment doctrine is...necessary.”).

¹⁷⁷ See *supra* Section I.B.2 (discussing existing precedent related to whether the sound of gunshots constitutes reasonable suspicion for a *Terry* stop).

existing cases favoring criminal defendants—including *Jones*¹⁷⁸ and *Carpenter*¹⁷⁹—lower courts are less likely to rule in ways that capture the deep-seated issue that these technologies pose.¹⁸⁰

Academic literature has suggested various tests to shift Fourth Amendment jurisprudence to produce more consistent results. One compelling argument is to move to a test that focuses on society-wide harm instead of how technology harms one individual in particular.¹⁸¹ This would help resurrect *Katz* in the context of modern technology, making it applicable to contexts like *Jones* and *Carpenter*.¹⁸² This would also create a more fulsome framework, instead of the approach the Supreme Court has taken in making specific rules for specific technologies, opting for exceptions to *Katz* without overruling it altogether.¹⁸³ Focusing on society-wide harm would help criminal defendants seeking to combat the use of proximity as a proxy for criminality. In the context of geofencing warrants, such a test would enable criminal defendants argue about the threat posed by law enforcement’s ability to pull such invasive data from technology companies.¹⁸⁴ Likewise, criminal defendants seeking to suppress ShotSpotter alerts could argue that allowing law enforcement to stop any individual in the vicinity of an alert is a broad, societal concern under the Fourth Amendment.

Such tests would essentially reverse the *Katz* test, which is still good law.¹⁸⁵ There are less transformative approaches, which can also succeed in protecting criminal defendants against

¹⁷⁸ *United States v. Jones*, 565 U.S. 400 (2012).

¹⁷⁹ *Carpenter v. United States*, 138 S. Ct. 2206 (2018).

¹⁸⁰ See *Hiding in Plain Sight*, *supra* note 1 at 596 (2017); (stating that “the Fourth Amendment may not be capacious enough to cover [protest] activity, particularly in light of Supreme Court doctrine holding that the motive behind a stop or search is irrelevant to the Fourth Amendment analysis”).

¹⁸¹ See, e.g., Hu, *Cybersurveillance Intrusions and an Evolving Katz Privacy Test*, *supra* note 11 at 137. Justices on the Supreme Court have previously considered shifting the burden to the government. See *United States v. White*, 401 U.S. 745, 793 (1971) (Harlan, J., dissenting) (arguing that the “the burden of guarding privacy in a free society should not be on its citizens; it is the Government that must justify its need to electronically eavesdrop.”).

¹⁸² See discussion outlining why *Katz* is less able to capture modern-day technology used by law enforcement agencies.

¹⁸³ See *supra* Section I (discussing how the Supreme Court evaded the *Katz* test in deciding *Jones*).

¹⁸⁴ For a discussion of the invasiveness of geofencing warrants, see *supra* Part

¹⁸⁵ See *supra* Section I (discussing the treatment of *Katz* following *Carpenter* and *Jones*).

technology that equates proximity with involvement in a crime. For example, justices on the Supreme Court have previously considered shifting the burden to the government—not just to prove that an individual committed a crime, but also that a given technology is permitted under the Fourth Amendment.¹⁸⁶ This is especially compelling in cases involving novel technologies, given the information asymmetry between law enforcement agencies and criminal defendants. Often, criminal suspects are apprehended using technology that is unfamiliar to them. As mediators, courts rarely have precedent that is directly on point to judge new technologies.¹⁸⁷ By shifting the burden to the government to prove such technology is constitutional under by both a subjective and objective standard, criminal defendants would receive protection against the presumption that novel technologies are constitutional.

While such tests would be useful in creating more comprehensive Fourth Amendment jurisprudence, a litigation-based approach requires these issues to be teed up for courts. Thus, until the Supreme Court rules on more Fourth Amendment cases—specifically in the context of geofencing warrants and gunshot detection software—these technologies will continue to pose constitutional concerns. This necessitates an out-of-court approach to bolster Fourth Amendment protections. First, in order provide more comprehensive protection for privacy rights, critics of gunshot detection software can also look to steps taken by critics of geofencing warrants in the policy space. This policy change can in turn place pressure on technology companies to change course.

¹⁸⁶ *United States v. White*, 401 U.S. 745, 793 (1971) (Harlan, J., dissenting) (arguing that “the burden of guarding privacy in a free society should not be on its citizens; it is the Government that must justify its need to electronically eavesdrop.”).

¹⁸⁷ *See supra* Part (discussing the disparate precedent set forth by different courts).

B. Policymaking as a Vehicle for Change

Legislation is often an effective alternative to litigation, especially in the criminal justice system.¹⁸⁸ Even though court-guided common law typically governs how the Fourth Amendment works to protect criminal defendants,¹⁸⁹ policy initiatives have created change in other areas typically guided by judicial precedent.¹⁹⁰ This Section begins by evaluating how critics of geofencing warrants have pushed for policy change. Section III.B.1 first considers legislative proposals at the federal, state, and local level to combat the use of geofencing warrants altogether. Then, this Section explores smaller-scale agency actions, which have sought to hold technology companies accountable without barring geofencing warrants altogether. Section III.B.2 considers the possibility of policy change surrounding the use of gunshot detection software. The Section suggests that critics of ShotSpotter draft model legislation focusing on the constitutional issues that the technology perpetuates. Finally, this Section considers smaller-scale changes—such as proposals to police accountability boards—that can bring about accountability without fully banning the software.

1. Political Scrutiny of Geofencing Warrants

Geofencing warrants have faced increasing political scrutiny, targeted by legislation and agency action. Federal and state policymakers alike have questioned the privacy implications of

¹⁸⁸ Legislation opposing geofencing warrants is just one example of this. Another prominent example is opposition to qualified immunity. Ample academic literature has explored that legislative alternatives are a method to curb the judicially-created doctrine. *See, e.g.* Michael E. Beyda, *Affirmative Immunity: A Litigation-Based Approach to Curb Appellate Courts' Raising Qualified Immunity Sua Sponte*, 89 *FORDHAM L. REV.* 2693 (2021); Tayler Bingham, *Note: Giving Qualified Immunity Teeth: A Congressional Approach to Fixing Qualified Immunity*, 21 *NEV. L.J.* 835 (2021); Jim Hilbert, *Improving Police Officer Accountability in Minnesota: Three Proposed Legislative Reforms*, 47 *MITCHEL HAMLINE L. REV.* 22 (2021).

¹⁸⁹ *See generally* George C. Thomas II, *The Common Law Endures in the Fourth Amendment*, 27 *WM. & MARY BILL RTS. J.* 85 (2018).

¹⁹⁰ For example, in the past two years, qualified immunity has been barred by states and municipalities, including New Mexico, California, Colorado, Connecticut, and New York City. *See* H.R. 4, 55th Leg., 1st Sess. (N.M. 2021); H.R. 20-1287, 72nd Gen. Assemb., 2d Sess. (Col. 2021); H.R. 6004 Gen. Assemb., Jul. Spec. Sess. (Conn. 2020); New York City, N.Y., City Council Int. No. 2220-A (2021).

geofencing warrants.¹⁹¹ The Geolocation Privacy and Surveillance (GPS) Act would provide a legal framework providing clear guidelines for the situations in which geolocation information can be accessed and used.¹⁹² The bill—proposed in 2018—did not pass but has sparked ongoing scrutiny of location data pulled from technology companies.¹⁹³

For example, In 2019, the House of Representatives Committee on Energy and Commerce sent an open letter to Google demanding information about Sensor vault and the database’s role in responding to geofencing requests.¹⁹⁴ The letter expressed concern that the location history function violated user privacy.¹⁹⁵ Among other queries, the letter questioned Google’s executives about the type of information stored in the Sensorvault database, whether other databased stored precise location information, who had access to Sensorvault, and how accurate the information is.¹⁹⁶ While the 2019 letter was the most direct Congressional inquiry into Google’s location tracking, Congressional concern reemerged during antitrust technology hearings in July 2020.¹⁹⁷ During that hearing, Google’s Chief Executive Officer, Sundar Pichai, argued that Google’s transparency reports enabled baseline oversight by Congress.¹⁹⁸

While most federal action has targeted data collection specifically, there have also been efforts to check law enforcement’s power to access this data. For example, the *George Floyd*

¹⁹¹ Legislative backlash to the collection of sensitive location data is not limited to the United States. Google has been sanctioned in many countries for its data collection practices. See Nathan Newman, *Search, Antitrust, and the Economics of the Control of User Data*, 31 YALE J. ON REG. 401, 435-437 (2014).

¹⁹² Geolocation Privacy and Surveillance Act, H.R. 1062, 115th Cong. (2018).

¹⁹³ *Id.*

¹⁹⁴ Letter to Google re Sensorvault, H.R. Rep. Comm. on Energy and Comm., 116th Cong. (2019).

¹⁹⁵ *Id.* (stating that “the potential ramifications for consumer privacy are far reaching and concerning when examining the purposes for the Sensorvault database and how precise location information could be shared with third parties.”).

¹⁹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁹⁷ Alfred Ng, *Lawmaker questions Google’s CEO about geofence warrants*, CNET (Jul. 29, 2020 12:42 PM), <https://www.cnet.com/news/lawmaker-questions-googles-ceo-about-geofence-warrants/> (In questioning Google Chief Executive Officer Sundar Pichai, North Dakota Representative Kelly Armstrong noted that “people would be terrified to know that law enforcement could grab general warrants and get everyone’s information everywhere.”).

¹⁹⁸ *Id.* Pichai also noted that the company had made minor changes to protect consumer privacy, including deleting location activity after a certain period of time. *Id.*

Justice in Policing Act promises to “improve accountability and transparency” of law enforcement’s actions.¹⁹⁹ While the Act is mostly directly at preventing law enforcement’s use of force, and does not mention geolocation tracking abilities specifically, it does mention efforts to improve accountability in law enforcement’s process of “responding to complaints against law enforcement officers” and “improve evidence collection.”²⁰⁰ This provides an avenue by which the federal government can prevent law enforcement’s access to data, even if data collection continues.

State and local legislatures have also sought to act against the use of geofencing warrants. In 2020, New York State Senator Zellnor Myrie introduced the Reverse Location Search Prohibition Act.²⁰¹ The text of the Act outlines the concern that such warrants use proximity as a proxy for criminal conduct stating that it “prohibits the search, with or without warrant, of the geolocation data of a group of people who are under no individual suspicion of having committed a crime, but rather are defined by having been at a location at a given time.”²⁰² While New York is the first state to consider banning geofencing warrants altogether, other states and municipalities have sought to prohibit data collection of individuals within the geographical boundaries of a given jurisdiction.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ George Floyd Justice in Policing Act, H.R. 7120, 116th Cong. (2019-2020)

²⁰⁰ *Id.*

²⁰¹ S. 8183, 2019-2020 Leg. Sess. (N.Y. 2020).

<https://www.nysenate.gov/legislation/bills/2019/s8183>

²⁰² *Id.* At the time of writing, the Bill remains in committee.

²⁰³ The New York City Council proposed an amendment to the New York City administrative code, which would create a private right of action against companies who share location information with third parties if the location information is gathered from a device in New York city. N.Y.C. Council, Int. 1632- 2019 (July 23, 2019). California implemented legislation similar to Europe’s GDPR, granting residents a broad range of rights related to how their personal data is used. CAL. CIV. CODE §§ 1798.100–.199 (effective Jan. 1, 2020). Illinois has proposed the Geolocation Privacy Protection Act, which would create clear guidelines for geolocation data that can be adapted for a federal statute. H.B. 3449, 100th Gen. Assemb., Reg. Sess. (Ill., 2017). The bill was vetoed because of concerns that the bill would lead to job loss, without improving protections. See Robert Channick, *Rauner Vetoes Geolocation Privacy Bill Aimed at Protecting Smartphone Users*, CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Sept. 22, 2017), <http://www.chicagotribune.com/business/ct-bizgeolocation-privacy-rauner-veto-20170922-story.html>.

While most policy action directed at geofencing warrants and location-based tracking has occurred in legislatures, agencies have expressed concerns about location data shared with third parties. Most notably, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has monitored developments in the process, releasing a policy statement on “negative option marketing”—which clearly discloses when data can or will be shared with third parties.²⁰⁴ While the FTC has not specifically addressed the intersection of law enforcement and data collection, the agency has settled with several private sector companies.²⁰⁵ In prepared testimony to Congress, Jessica Rich, then-Director of the FTC’s Bureau of Consumer Protection noted that geolocation information could provide answers to questions like “what place of worship do you attend? Did you meet with a prospective business customer?”²⁰⁶ In addition, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) issued a report outlining the privacy concerns associated with providing location data to unknown third parties, including possibility of consumer location tracking and surveillance.²⁰⁷

Of course, these policy changes do not address every concern that geofencing warrants pose. For example, a great deal of legislature focuses merely on the data collection practices of technology companies, without considering other avenues by which law enforcement officials

²⁰⁴ Enforcement Policy Statement Regarding Negative Option Marketing (Oct. 28, 2021), https://www.ftc.gov/system/files/documents/public_statements/1598063/negative_option_policy_statement-10-22-2021-tobureau.pdf.

²⁰⁵ See, e.g., Press Release, U.S. Fed. Trade Comm’n, Android Flashlight App Developer Settles FTC Charges It Deceived Consumers (Dec. 5, 2013), <https://www.ftc.gov/news-events/press-releases/2013/12/android-flashlight-app-developer-settles-ftc-charges-it-deceived> (noting a settlement because the company shared individual location information and shared it with third parties before users had a chance to accept an end user agreement); Press Release, U.S. Fed. Trade Comm’n, Mobile Advertising Network InMobi Settles FTC Charges It Tracked Hundreds of Millions of Consumers’ Locations without Permission (June 22, 2016), <https://www.ftc.gov/news-events/press-releases/2016/06/mobile-advertising-network-inmobi-settles-ftc-charges-it-tracked> (stating that InMobi would pay \$950,000 in civil penalties after tracking consumers’ location without disclosure).

²⁰⁶ The Location Privacy Protection Act of 2014: Hearing on S. 2171 before the Subcomm. for Privacy, Tech. & the Law of the S. Comm. on the Judiciary, 113th Cong. (2014) (statement of Jennifer Rich, Director, Bureau of Consumer Protection), https://www.ftc.gov/system/files/documents/public_statements/313671/140604locationprivacyact.pdf.

²⁰⁷ U.S. GOV’T ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE, GAO-12-903, MOBILE DEVICE LOCATION DATA: ADDITIONAL FEDERAL ACTIONS COULD HELP PROTECT CONSUMER PRIVACY (2012), <http://www.gao.gov/assets/650/648044.pdf>.

can track an individual's location. Privacy advocates have recommended that Congress create a statutory structure requiring an "escalating set of procedures" to authorize any sort of data collection that the government may have access to.²⁰⁸ Regardless, efforts to minimize the use of geofencing have kept pressure on companies to reevaluate their privacy practices.²⁰⁹ This can play an important role in asking the technology to self-regulate.²¹⁰

2. *Pushing for Policy change in Gunshot Detection Software*

Opposition to geofencing warrants can provide a framework for policy change in the context of gunshot detection software. At present, there is no pending legislation as sweeping as attempts to bar geofencing warrants in New York City. However, municipalities have recognized the need to create accountability mechanisms when the technology is used. For example, when the New York City Police Department originally began using ShotSpotter technology, New York Attorney General Letitia James introduced a public advocate bill proposing a change to the administrative code requiring the NYPD to report on information detected on ShotSpotter technology.²¹¹

ShotSpotter is typically funded by taxpayer resources,²¹² which can be a starting point for citizens to demand accountability for how the technology is used. The resources poured into

²⁰⁸ Christopher Slobogin, *Making the Most of United States v. Jones in a Surveillance Society: A Statutory Implementation of Mosaic Theory*, 8 DUKE J. CONST. L. & PUB. POL'Y (Special Issue) 1, 4-5 (2012) (proposing that a "general public search"—such as setting up CCTV cameras for general public safety surveillance—would not require a warrant or other court order at all, but would require that the group being surveilled have had access to a transparent political process that led to the installation of the camera).

²⁰⁹ For an in-depth discussion about the efforts of technology companies to reevaluate privacy practices, *see infra* Section III.

²¹⁰ *Id.*

²¹¹ New York City, N.Y., City Council Int. No. 0665-2015 (2015). The legislation was filed at the end of session, and was left unenacted. *Id.*

²¹² While data is not publicly available about the exact amount of taxpayer dollars spent on ShotSpotter, a majority of the company's contracts come from law enforcement contracts financed by local taxes or federal grants. *See* Matt Drange, *We're Spending Millions On This High-Tech System Designed to Reduce Gun Violence. Is It Making a Difference?*, FORBES (Nov. 17, 2016); Alayna Alvarez, *Denver may spend millions more on controversial ShotSpotter tech*, AXIOS (Dec. 21, 2021); Todd Feathers, *Police Are Telling ShotSpotter to Alter Evidence From Gunshot-Detecting AI*, VICE (Jul. 26, 2021 at 9:00 AM).

ShotSpotter can take away from community policing efforts. A study published in the *Journal of Urban Health* argues that ShotSpotter is typically used as a mechanism to respond quickly to crime but does not accurately predict future crime.²¹³ Therefore, ShotSpotter can pull resources away from preventative measures prevalent in community policing models. While the software may be able to identify “neighborhood hot spots,” this can be done just as easily with existing crime statistics.²¹⁴

Given there is no pending legislation opposing gunshot detection software, privacy and civil rights advocates can consider drafting model legislation, using the framework of legislation regulating geofencing warrants. In the geofencing context, successful policy efforts were directed at encouraging open disclosure, pushing for increased accountability.²¹⁵ In the context of gunshot detection software, legislation demanding accountability may include provisions about the protections that criminal defendants have when a ShotSpotter alert is not corroborated by eyewitness testimony or any additional evidence. Just as legislation opposing geofencing warrants has identified the legal and constitutional concerns that the practice raises, draft legislation should combat the Fourth Amendment concerns ShotSpotter raises.²¹⁶

Even if sweeping legislation is infeasible, citizens can take smaller steps to encourage law enforcement agencies or police oversight boards to enforce these policies. Police accountability

²¹³ Mitchell Doucette et al., *Impact of ShotSpotter Technology on Firearm Homicides and Arrests Among Large Metropolitan Counties: a Longitudinal Analysis, 1999-2016*, 98 J. URBAN HEALTH 5 (2020). The study notably identifies three areas of policing in which ShotSpotter may be used—(1) rapid response, (2) problem-solving, and (3) crime prevention. *Id.* ShotSpotter typically falls into the rapid response categories, since the software is meant to alert law enforcement agencies of an ongoing incident. *Id.*

²¹⁴ CHI. OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL, THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT’S USE OF SHOTSPOTTER TECHNOLOGY (2021), <https://igchicago.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Chicago-Police-Departments-Use-of-ShotSpotter-Technology.pdf>.

²¹⁵ For more detail on these policy initiatives, see *supra* Part.

²¹⁶ Specifically, legislation should acknowledge that gunshot detection software can serve as (1) a general warrant to search any individual once an alert sounds; or (2) an anonymous tip lacking specificity. See *supra* Part (discussing the privacy concerns ShotSpotter poses).

boards can develop policies prior to implementation, including mandating ongoing training and creating accountability mechanisms when the technology is used.²¹⁷ These steps—while minor—can help law enforcement agencies evaluate the privacy implications of the technology before it is implemented. For example, the Urban Institute recommends that law enforcement supervisors develop clear policies surrounding the use of gunshot detection prior to implementation.²¹⁸ Such policies could also avoid confusion on when a ShotSpotter alert can be used to apprehend a criminal suspect.²¹⁹ Of note is the fact that law enforcement agencies often vary on whether officials should locate witnesses and search for shell cases.²²⁰ More specific policies regarding neighborhood canvassing, or requiring physical evidence to corroborate software detection can help avoid many of the concerns that ShotSpotter poses when analogized to an anonymous tip lacking reasonable suspicion.²²¹

Whether policy change is encouraged via police accountability mechanisms or legislatures, it is likely to encourage a broader discourse about transparency when alerts are used to apprehend criminal suspects.²²² Sustained concerns about the proximity as a proxy for criminality with regards to ShotSpotter, will likely lead to both policy change and industry action, as it has in the case of geofencing warrants.²²³ While legislative and policy shifts can help draw scrutiny of

²¹⁷ Nancy G. La Vigne et al., *Implementing Gunshot Detection Technology*, URBAN INSTITUTE (2019).

²¹⁸ *Id.* at 9.

²¹⁹ *Id.* at 9. The study examined the practices of three different law enforcement agencies utilizing gunshot detection. While each of the agencies considered gunshot detection a “high priority,” there was considerable variation between policies related to canvassing neighborhoods, searching for shell casings, and locating witnesses. *Id.* See also James Czerniawski & Connor Boyack, *Reviewing the Privacy Implications of Law Enforcement Access to and Use of Digital Data*, 5 UTAH J. CRIM. L. 73, 86 (2021) (citing an example of an individual who was apprehended as a criminal suspect on the basis of DNA technology which was originally uploaded to a private database).

²²⁰ La Vigne et al., *Implementing Gunshot Detection Technology*, *supra* note

²²¹ *Id.* Specifically, such practices would increase the presence of physical evidence and eye-witness testimony to corroborate the use of ShotSpotter. Thus, they could help prevent false arrests and ensure that gunshot detection software is accompanied by further evidence.

²²² *Id.*

²²³ See *infra* Section III.C (discussing the role that technology companies play in bringing about change).

ShotSpotter, it may be difficult to create a fulsome strategy protecting criminal defendants without private sector buy-in.²²⁴

C. Industry Buy-In as a Vehicle for Change

Industry buy-in provides a powerful addition to litigation and policy change. Particularly because the pace of technological change is faster than corresponding litigation and legislation,²²⁵ companies deploying this technology play an important role in preventing Fourth Amendment violations.²²⁶ As law enforcement agencies adopt emerging technologies, companies deploying these technologies become crucial mediators between law enforcement and the public.²²⁷ Increasingly, advocates point to the need for Value Sensitive Design—a “self-regulatory design theory” to “account for human values in a principled and comprehensive manner throughout the design process” of new technology.²²⁸ However, given the information asymmetry between technology companies and courts or policymakers, it is difficult to find the impetus for change.²²⁹ In successful cases of technology regulation, industry action picks up

²²⁴ See *Hiding in Plain Sight*, *supra* note at 559 (2017) (“But a patchwork quilt of state statutes granting varying degrees of privacy protection is not adequate when foundational Fourth Amendment rights are at stake. Such a system would leave a fraction—likely a large fraction—of citizens deprived of critical constitutional guarantees.”).

²²⁵ See Hilary Silvia & Nanci K. Carr, *When Worlds Collide: Protecting Physical World Interests against Virtual World Malfeasance*, 26 MICH. TECH. L. REV. 279, 281 (2020) (noting that “it is beyond dispute that protective legislation will be unable to keep up, much less catch up, with technological changes.”).

²²⁶ See *id.* (noting that “the burden of anticipating and addressing issues presented by emerging technologies will ultimately fall upon the businesses responsible for generating them.”).

²²⁷ As noted by Jennifer Granick, a surveillance and cybersecurity counsel at the American Civil Liberties Union, “we think of the judiciary as being the overseer, but as the technology has gotten more complex, courts have had a harder and harder time playing that role. We’re depending on companies to be the intermediary between people and the government.” See Valentino-DeVries, *Google’s Sensorvault Is a Boon for Law Enforcement*, *supra* note.

²²⁸ Batya Friedman et al., Value Sensitive Design: Theory and Methods 1 (UW CSE Technical Report 02-12-01, 2002); Hilary Silvia & Nanci K. Carr, *When Worlds Collide: Protecting Physical World Interests against Virtual World Malfeasance*, 26 MICH. TECH. L. REV. 284 (2020) (noting that “this theory places human values squarely at the center of how technology itself is designed.”) [hereinafter *When Worlds Collide*].

²²⁹ This has been coined the difficulty of creating “action in the absence of accountability.” *When Worlds Collide* 282.

where litigation leaves off.²³⁰ In these cases, companies do not admit liability, but agree to change privacy policies, thereby curbing damage.²³¹

Market conditions can also affect the willingness of companies to self-regulate. Over the past few years, investors have begun to focus more on a company's environmental, social, and governance (ESG) efforts, instead of merely on financial returns.²³² In this environment, avoiding liability while responding to consumer concerns is especially important, since it can affect how the company is perceived at market. In October 2021, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) issued guidance to narrow the circumstances in which companies can choose not to respond to these concerns by institutional investors.²³³ This updated guidance appears to reflect the heightened focus institutional investors are placing on a company's social commitments. Critics of geofencing warrants have successfully met the technology industry in demanding change, providing a blueprint for ShotSpotter's critics.

This Part examines how critics of geofencing warrants have successfully exerted pressure on technology companies to exhibit opposition to geofencing warrants—including via amicus briefs

²³⁰ For example, a recent settlement between Niantic—the creator of Pokémon Go—settled with a nationwide class of individuals alleging trespass and nuisance. Pls.' Mot. Supp. Prelim. Approval Settlement in re Pokémon Go Nuisance Litig., No. 3:16-cv-04300, at 1 (Feb. 14, 2019) (Proposed settlement class includes "all persons in the United States who own or lease property within 100 meters of any location that Niantic has designated, without prior consent of such property owner or lessee, as a Pokéstop of Poké Gym in the Pokémon Go mobile application.").

²³¹ See Order Approving Class Action Settlement Agreement in re Pokémon Go Nuisance Litig., No. 3:16-cv-04300, at 3-4 (Aug. 30, 2019); see also Silvia & Carr, *When Worlds Collide: Protecting Physical World Interests against Virtual World Malfeasance*, *supra* note at 285.

²³² Ross Kerber and Simon Jessop, *Analysis: How 2021 became the year of ESG investing*, REUTERS, Dec. 23, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/markets/us/how-2021-became-year-esg-investing-2021-12-23/> (citing that the Sustainable Investments Institute found that support for social and environmental proposals at shareholder meetings in the United States rose from 21% in 2017, to 27% in 2020, and further to 32% in 2021). Catherine Winner, global head of stewardship of Goldman Sachs Group Inc.'s asset management division, told *Reuters News* that "investors are no longer satisfied with companies delivering shareholder returns without doing more for the environment and society." *Id.*

²³³ SEC Staff Legal Bulletin No. 14L (CF) (Nov. 3, 2021). SEC Rule 14a-8(i)(7)—or the "ordinary business exception"—permits a company to exclude a shareholder proposal that "deals with a matter relating to the company's ordinary business operations." *Id.* However, the initial rule highlights an exception for certain proposals raising significant social policy issues. The guidance suggests that the initial rule places "an undue emphasis on evaluating the significance of a policy issue to a particular company at the expense of whether the proposal focuses on a significant social policy." *Id.*

and transparency reports.²³⁴ Finally, this Section considers how critics of gunshot detection software bring about accountability when the technology is used.²³⁵

1. *Industry Response to Geofencing Warrants*

Civil rights organizations have called on technology companies to acknowledge the role they play in protecting—or eroding—privacy rights guaranteed under the Fourth Amendment. For example, a coalition of civil rights organizations wrote an open letter stating that geofencing warrants “circumvent constitutional checks on police surveillance, creating a virtual dragnet.”²³⁶ The letter emphasized the intermediary role Google plays, stating that the company is “uniquely situated to provide public oversight of these abusive practices.”²³⁷

Google has responded by expressing some opposition to these warrants. In a brief supporting neither side in a *United States v. Chatrie*, Google stated that it considers geofencing warrants a “broad and intrusive search”—more invasive than cell tower dumps.²³⁸ Google’s amicus brief is the first in which a technology company has openly resisted the use of geofencing warrants. This is a minor step but signals a shift in the industry to embrace privacy rights. Several companies have since published transparency reports disclosing how many warrant requests they have received.²³⁹ Sometimes, companies publish reports of how many warrant requests they have

²³⁴ Brief of Amicus Curiae Google LLC in Support of Neither Party Concerning Defendant’s Motion to Suppress Evidence From a “Geofence” General Warrant at 3, *United States v. Chatrie*, No. 3:19-cr-00130-MHL (2021); *See Supplemental Information on Geofence Warrants in the United States*, *supra* note.

²³⁵ This includes both friendly tactics, like requesting to work with the company. It also includes more hostile tactics, like reaching out to institutional investors regarding ESG mechanisms. *See infra* Section III.C (discussing methods to push for industry buy-in).

²³⁶ Re: Need for Improved Transparency on “Geofence” and “Keyword Warrants,” Surveillance Technology Oversight Project (Dec. 8, 2020).

²³⁷ *Id.*

²³⁸ Brief of Amicus Curiae Google LLC in Support of Neither Party Concerning Defendant’s Motion to Suppress Evidence From a “Geofence” General Warrant at 3, *United States v. Chatrie*, No. 3:19-cr-00130-MHL (2021). At the time of writing, the district court has yet to decide whether to grant the defendant’s motion to suppress information pulled from the geofencing warrant in that case.

²³⁹ *See Supplemental Information on Geofence Warrants in the United States*, *supra* note 237; *see also* Law enforcement demands for customer data, <https://verizon.turtl.co/story/us-transparency-report-1h-2021/page/2/3>, Verizon (last visited Oct. 20, 2021).

received, without categorizing when a warrant qualifies as a “geofencing” warrant.²⁴⁰ However, these transparency reports demonstrate accountability to consumers about a company’s interactions with law enforcement agencies. Other companies—including Facebook and Lyft—have either refused to comply or placed limitations on how they reply to these warrants.²⁴¹

These measures require technology companies to self-regulate how they collect, store, and share data. Often, efforts to self-regulate can lead to a “race to the bottom” by which “business narrowly interpret privacy laws to gain a competitive advantage.”²⁴² Ample scholarship has stressed that “there is little incentive for the design of systems which restrict collection of personal data.”²⁴³ For this reason, industry action alone cannot guide privacy protection. Instead, it should be used in conjunction with policy and legal change.

2. ShotSpotter Industry Response

Despite the privacy concerns its technology poses, ShotSpotter has taken little action to protect citizens in the jurisdictions where its technology is deployed. There is an important gap between the consumer base of technology companies and ShotSpotter. While technology companies that collect user data are mainly serving end users, companies like ShotSpotter’s customers are law enforcement agencies.

²⁴⁰ For example, Verizon published a report noting that the company received 10,631 warrant requests in the second half of 2017 and 15,169 in the first half of 2021. Law enforcement demands for customer data, <https://verizon.turtl.co/story/us-transparency-report-1h-2021/page/2/3>, Verizon (last visited Oct. 20, 2021).

²⁴¹ Facebook has acknowledged that the company receives geofencing warrant requests, but stated that it is unable to fulfill them because the company has placed limitations on how data is stored. See Albert Fox Cahn, *This Unsettling Practice Turns Your Phone into a Tracking Device for the Government*, FAST CO. (Jan. 17, 2020), <https://www.fastcompany.com/90452990/this-unsettling-practice-turns-your-phone-into-a-tracking-device-for-the-government>. Lyft has stated that it would comply with such requests if they did not target all users in a given geographic radius. *Id.*

²⁴² See Yana Welinder, *A Face Tells More Than A Thousand Posts: Developing Face Recognition Privacy in Social Networks*, 26 HARV. J.L. & TECH. 165, 193-95 (2012) (arguing that though the FTC has found Facebook’s practices to “unfair and deceptive,” the narrow standards in place do not require companies to make meaningful changes).

²⁴³ Lisa Madelon Campbell, *Internet Intermediaries, Cloud Computing and Geospatial Data: How Competition and Privacy Converge in the Mobile Environment*, 7 NO. 2 COMPETITION L. INT’L 60, 62 (2011) (stating that there is no “effective deterrent to unfettered data collection, especially when these businesses can experience significant financial windfall from their unauthorized data collection practices.”).

This does not fully preclude critics from working directly with ShotSpotter to demand change, as critics of geofencing warrants did in sending an open letter to Google.²⁴⁴ In fact, ShotSpotter has previously been receptive to working with criminal justice reform groups. In 2019, ShotSpotter requested that the New York University School of Law Policing Project conduct an audit of its privacy measures focused solely on voice surveillance implications.²⁴⁵ ShotSpotter made a number of changes to further prevent voice surveillance capabilities after the report was published, including (1) substantially reducing the duration of audio stored on the company's sensors; (2) committing to denying requests and challenging subpoenas for audio; (3) committing to not sharing specific sensor location with law enforcement agencies; and (4) improving internal controls regarding audio access.²⁴⁶ In that case, ShotSpotter provided access to sensitive information, even though implications of that access seems counterintuitive to some of the company's objectives. The company has showed some sensitivity to the negative media coverage surrounding the privacy implications of the technology.²⁴⁷ For example, in 2021, ShotSpotter filed a lawsuit claiming that media reports perpetuated false claims about the company.²⁴⁸ This may provide critics a chance to work with ShotSpotter to evaluate how law enforcement uses the technology.

Critics can also turn to more aggressive tactics, especially given the heightened focus on ESG concerns.²⁴⁹ Similar to many of the technology companies stating opposition to geofencing warrants—like Facebook and Google—ShotSpotter is a publicly traded company.²⁵⁰ At the most

²⁴⁴ See Re: Need for Improved Transparency on “Geofence” and “Keyword Warrants,” *supra* note 239.

²⁴⁵ POLICING PROJECT AT NYU LAW, PRIVACY AUDIT & ASSESSMENT OF SHOTSPOTTER, INC.’S GUNSHOT DETECTION TECHNOLOGY (Jul. 2019).

²⁴⁶ *Id.*

²⁴⁷ See Press Release, ShotSpotter Files Defamation Complaint Against VICE Media (Oct. 12, 2021), <https://ir.shotspotter.com/press-releases/detail/228/shotspotter-files-defamation-complaint-against-vice-media>.

²⁴⁸ In 2021, ShotSpotter filed a lawsuit claiming that VICE Media published false claims about the company. *Id.*

²⁴⁹ See *supra* Part III.C.1. (discussing heightened ESG concerns).

²⁵⁰ See *About ShotSpotter*, <https://www.shotspotter.com/company/> (last visited Jan. 18, 2022).

combative level, this means that privacy and civil rights advocates can appeal to institutional or other investors to reveal the concerns that ShotSpotter poses.²⁵¹ For larger companies, this has resulted in activist calls for change. As institutional investors continue to focus on a company's ESG mechanisms,²⁵² it is worth placing pressure on those investors to challenge companies to better track and protect the rights guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment. Clearly, there has been movement on this front for large technology companies like Google. It may be tougher to enact the same progress in smaller companies like ShotSpotter, since institutional investors may place less of a focus on those companies than on companies that have a higher market cap.

CONCLUSION

Without proper boundaries, law enforcement's use of emerging technologies to apprehend suspects based on location alone raises serious Fourth Amendment concerns. The Supreme Court's reasoning in *Jones* and *Carpenter* outline a framework that criminal defendants have used to challenge geofencing warrants. Criminal defendants apprehended based on a ShotSpotter alert alone should argue that the technology essentially serves as a general warrant, lacking the specificity needed for a *Terry* stop. Given the state of Supreme Court jurisprudence regarding law enforcement's use of technology, litigation alone is unlikely to protect criminal defendants. Thus, a comprehensive approach to emerging technology that use proximity as a proxy for criminality involves a policy-based approach. These policies should focus on the accountability of both technology companies and law enforcement agencies. Finally, critics of these technologies should seek to elicit industry buy-in for lasting policy change.

²⁵¹ For larger companies, this has resulted in activist calls for change. For example, activists called on Union Pacific to publicize workforce diversity statistics. *Id.* It is worth noting that there are important measures on this front that are not passed. For example, investor pressure on Amazon to review how it addresses racial justice and equity failed in 2021.

²⁵² See *supra* Section III.C.1 (discussing increased focus on a company's social commitments.)

Applicant Details

First Name	Xaveria
Last Name	Mayerhofer
Citizenship Status	U. S. Citizen
Email Address	xmayerhofer@unm.edu
Address	<div>Address</div> <div>Street</div> <div>7319 Laguna Niguel Dr NE</div> <div>City</div> <div>Albuquerque</div> <div>State/Territory</div> <div>New Mexico</div> <div>Zip</div> <div>87109</div> <div>Country</div> <div>United States</div>
Contact Phone Number	5059330978

Applicant Education

BA/BS From	Brandeis University
Date of BA/BS	December 2020
JD/LLB From	The University of New Mexico School of Law
	http://lawschool.unm.edu/
Date of JD/LLB	May 14, 2024
Class Rank	School does not rank
Does the law school have a Law Review/Journal?	Yes
Law Review/Journal	No
Moot Court Experience	No

Bar Admission

Prior Judicial Experience

Judicial Internships/Externships	Yes
Post-graduate Judicial Law Clerk	No

Specialized Work Experience

Recommenders

Nathaniel, Gentry
staff@jgentrylaw.com
5057640111

Racehorse, Vanessa
vanessa.racehorse@law.unm.edu

England, Scott
scott.england@law.unm.edu
505-277-2646

This applicant has certified that all data entered in this profile and any application documents are true and correct.

Xaveria Mayerhofer

xmayerhofer@law.unm.edu | (505) 933-0978

June 10, 2023

The Honorable Jamar K. Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, Virginia 23510

Dear Judge Walker:

I am a 3L at the University of New Mexico School of Law writing to apply for a 2024-2025 clerkship in your chambers. Although I was originally applying for one year clerkships, I am not opposed to extending the position for an additional year. I am in the top 5% of my class, a member of the *Tribal Law Journal*, and devoted to bettering myself and my community through the legal profession. As a military child, I have had the privilege of living in cities across the U.S. However, upon graduating, it is my desire to relocate to Virginia and build my career there. As a clerk, I will contribute a unique perspective, a genuine interest in the law, and a diligent work ethic. It is my goal to begin my career with a clerkship in your chambers.

My varied work history and substantial research experience will facilitate my success as a clerk. This past spring, I interned with the U.S. Attorney's Office where I gained experience in federal law, including the U.S. Sentencing Guidelines and issues of jurisdiction. This summer, I am clerking for Judge George Eichwald in the Thirteenth Judicial District Court of New Mexico. In this position, I am refining my research, writing, and analytical skills while balancing a diverse and busy docket, which will prepare me to be a successful federal clerk. I look forward to taking on the challenges a clerkship offers and hope to do so in your chambers.

I am particularly interested in clerking for you due to your background at the Office of the U.S. Attorney. After my clerkship, I hope to become an assistant U.S. attorney. I will gain substantial skills and knowledge by learning from your experience. I am eager to learn from both the criminal and civil dockets to augment my legal knowledge and abilities as an advocate. I look forward to strengthening my skills of legal analysis, broadening my knowledge of federal law, and serving the people of Virginia.

Please let me know if there is any other information I can provide. I would enjoy the opportunity to interview with you, and I am free to do so at your convenience.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Respectfully yours,



Xaveria Mayerhofer

Xaveria Mayerhofer

xmayerhofer@law.unm.edu | (505) 933-0978

EDUCATION

University of New Mexico School of Law, Albuquerque, NM

Juris Doctor, expected May 2024

GPA: 3.83

Dean's List

CALI Awards: Constitutional Rights; Indian Law Appellate Advocacy

Certificate of Concentration in Indian Law (in progress)

Involvement:

Tribal Law Journal, staff

Criminal Law Tutor, Profess Joshua Kastenber, Fall 2023

Research Assistant to Professor Allison Freedman (*Economic Justice*), Summer/Fall 2023

Research Assistant to Professor Joseph Schremmer (*Property, Oil & Gas*), Fall 2022

Gene Franchini New Mexico High School Mock Trial Judge

Southwest Indian Law Clinic (forthcoming), Spring 2024

Brandeis University, Waltham, MA

Bachelor of Arts, cum laude, in Linguistics, December 2020

Honors: Commitment to Service Award

Near Eastern Judaic Studies prize for Excellence in Arabic

EXPERIENCE

Thirteenth Judicial District Court, Bernalillo, NM

May 2023 - July 2023

Judicial Clerk to Judge George P. Eichwald

Office of the U.S. Attorney, Albuquerque, NM

Jan. 2023 - May 2023

Law Clerk, Department of Indian Country Crimes

Pueblo of Isleta Appellate Court, Pueblo of Isleta, NM

July 2022 - Oct. 2022

Judicial Clerk

New Mexico State Ethics Commission, Albuquerque, NM

May 2022 - June 2022

Law Clerk

The Gentry Law Firm, Albuquerque, NM

Dec. 2020 - present

Law Clerk; New Hire Trainer

Mental Health Legal Advisors Committee, Boston, MA (virtual)

Aug. 2020 - Dec. 2020

Volunteer Research and Intake Intern

The Right to Immigration Institute, Waltham, MA

Aug. 2018 - Dec. 2020

Volunteer Immigration Advocate

Second Judicial District Attorney, Albuquerque, NM

May 2019 - Aug. 2019

Crime Strategies Unit Intern

Xaveria N Mayerhofer
UNM ID: 101-92-8499
DATE OF BIRTH: 04-DEC-1998

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87131-0001

PAGE: 1
DATE ISSUED: 06-JUN-2023

Course Level: Law School				SUBJ NO.	COURSE TITLE	CRED GRD	PTS R
Current Program				Institution Information continued:			
Juris Doctor				LAW 593	T: Indn Child, Yth & Fam Law	2.00 A-	7.34 I
Program : Juris Doctor				LAW 593	T: Indn Land Rts & Clm (WS)	2.00 A	8.00 I
College : School of Law				LAW 593	T: Civil Rights Litigation	2.00 B+	6.66 I
Campus : Albuquerque/Main				LAW 605	Advanced Constitutional Rights	3.00 A	12.00
Major : Law				LAW 750	Ethics	3.00 A+	12.99
				Ehrs: 17.00 GPA-Hrs: 15.00 QPts: 59.98 GPA: 3.99			
SUBJ NO.	COURSE TITLE	CRED GRD	PTS R	Fall 2023			
INSTITUTION CREDIT:				IN PROGRESS WORK			
Fall 2021				LAW 552	Federal Jurisdiction	3.00 IN PROGRESS	
School of Law				LAW 593	T: Tribal Law Jrnl Seminar(WS)	2.00 IN PROGRESS	
LAW 502	Contracts I	3.00 A	12.00	LAW 595	Tribal Law Journal I-Staff	1.00 IN PROGRESS	
LAW 504	Criminal Law	3.00 A	12.00	LAW 606	Civil Procedure II	3.00 IN PROGRESS	
LAW 506	Elements Legal Argumentation I	3.00 B+	9.99	LAW 608	Property II	3.00 IN PROGRESS	
LAW 510	Torts	3.00 A-	11.01	LAW 614	Administrative Law	3.00 IN PROGRESS	
LAW 593	T: Lab	3.00 A-	11.01 I	In Progress Credits 15.00			
Ehrs: 15.00 GPA-Hrs: 15.00 QPts: 56.01 GPA: 3.73				***** TRANSCRIPT TOTALS *****			
				Earned Hrs GPA Hrs Points GPA			
				TOTAL INSTITUTION	65.00	61.00	234.05 3.83
				TOTAL TRANSFER	0.00	0.00	0.00 0.00
				OVERALL	65.00	61.00	234.05 3.83
				***** END OF TRANSCRIPT *****			

Brandeis

UNIVERSITY

Office of the University Registrar
Waltham, MA 02453-2728

Mark S. Hewitt
University Registrar

Official Undergraduate Transcript

Name: Xaveria Noelle Mayerhofer
Student ID: 20773196

Undergraduate Record Page 1 of 3
April 9, 2021

Send To: Xaveria Mayerhofer
4849 Charlotte Ct NE
Albuquerque, NM 87109
United States

Degrees Awarded

Degree: Bachelor of Arts
Confer Date: February 01, 2021
Degree GPA: 3.610
Degree Honors: Cum Laude
Plan: Major in Linguistics
Plan: Minor in Arabic Language, Literature, and Culture
Plan: Minor in Legal Studies

Academic Program History

Program: Arts and Sciences
Completed Program
Major in Linguistics
Minor in Arabic Language, Literature, and Culture
Minor in Legal Studies

Beginning of Undergraduate Record

Fall Semester 2017

Transfer Credit from Central New Mexico CC Applied Toward Arts and Sciences

Course	Description	Attempted	Earned	Grade	Points
ANTH BRG002	University Requirement - CC	0.000	0.000	T	0.000
ARBC BRG001	Arabic - CC	0.000	0.000	T	0.000
ARBC BRG001	Arabic - CC	0.000	0.000	T	0.000
PSYC BRG001	University Requirement - SS	0.000	0.000	T	0.000
SOC BRG001	University Requirement - SS	0.000	0.000	T	0.000
THA BRG001	University Requirement - CA	0.000	0.000	T	0.000
Course Trans GPA	0.000 Transfer Totals	0.000	0.000		0.000

Course	Description	Attempted	Earned	Grade	Points
ARBC 10A	Beginning Arabic I	4.000	4.000	B	12.000
LING 100A	Introduction to Linguistics	4.000	4.000	B	12.000
PE 17A	Beginner's Fencing	0.000	0.000	S	0.000
UWS 2B	Darwinian Dating: The Evolution of Human Attraction	4.000	4.000	B+	13.320

	Attempted	Earned	Points
Term GPA	3.110	Term Totals	12.000
Cum GPA	3.110	Cum Totals	12.000
			37.320

Spring Semester 2018

Course	Description	Attempted	Earned	Grade	Points
ARBC 20B	Beginning Arabic II	6.000	6.000	A	24.000
FILM 100A	Introduction to the Moving Image	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LING 110A	Phonological Theory	4.000	4.000	B-	10.680
LING 125B	Linguistic Typology	4.000	4.000	A-	14.680
PHIL 106B	Mathematical Logic	4.000	4.000	B-	10.680

TO VERIFY: TRANSLUCENT GLOBE ICONS MUST BE VISIBLE WHEN HELD TOWARD A LIGHT SOURCE

Brandeis

UNIVERSITY

Office of the University Registrar
Waltham, MA 02453-2728

Mark S. Hewitt
University Registrar

Official Undergraduate Transcript

Name: Xaveria Noelle Mayerhofer
Student ID: 20773196

Undergraduate Record Page 2 of 3
April 9, 2021

Term GPA	3.456	Term Totals	Attempted 22.000	Earned 22.000	Points 76.040
Cum GPA	3.334	Cum Totals	34.000	34.000	113.360

Fall Semester 2018

Course	Description	Attempted	Earned	Grade	Points
ANTH 153A	Writing Systems and Scribal Traditions	4.000	4.000	A-	14.680
ARBC 30A	Intermediate Arabic I	6.000	6.000	A-	22.020
LING 105A	Phonetics	4.000	4.000	B	12.000
LING 120B	Syntactic Theory	4.000	4.000	B	12.000
NEJS 122A	Magic and Witchcraft in the Ancient Near East	4.000	4.000	A-	14.680

Term GPA	3.426	Term Totals	Attempted 22.000	Earned 22.000	Points 75.380
Cum GPA	3.370	Cum Totals	56.000	56.000	188.740

Spring Semester 2019

Course	Description	Attempted	Earned	Grade	Points
ARBC 40B	Intermediate Arabic II	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LGLS 122B	Native American Tribal Legal Studies	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LING 115A	Morphology	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LING 130A	Formal Semantics: Truth, Meaning, and Language	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
PE 41A	Yogalates: A Fusion of Yoga/Pilates	0.000	0.000	S	0.000

Term GPA	4.000	Term Totals	Attempted 16.000	Earned 16.000	Points 64.000
Cum GPA	3.510	Cum Totals	72.000	72.000	252.740
Term Honor	Dean's List				

Fall Semester 2019

Course	Description	Attempted	Earned	Grade	Points
ARBC 103A	Lower Advanced Arabic	4.000	4.000	B+	13.320
ENG 109B	Fiction Workshop: Short Fiction	4.000	4.000	CR	0.000
FA 27B	Book Arts and Editions	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LGLS 10A	Introduction to Law	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LING 190B	Topics in Linguistics	4.000	4.000	B+	13.320
Course Topic:	Intro to Research in Ling				

Term GPA	3.665	Term Totals	Attempted 20.000	Earned 20.000	Points 58.640
Cum GPA	3.538	Cum Totals	92.000	92.000	311.380
Term Honor	Dean's List				

Spring Semester 2020

Course	Description	Attempted	Earned	Grade	Points
ARBC 103B	Middle Advanced Arabic: Contemporary Arab Media	4.000	4.000	A-	14.680
HIST 111A	History of the Modern Middle East	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LGLS 45A	Practicum in Experiences with Justice	2.000	2.000	CR	0.000
LGLS 141B	Juvenile Justice: From Cradle to Custody	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LING 121B	Syntax II	4.000	4.000	B	12.000
LING 190B	Topics in Linguistics	4.000	4.000	A-	14.680
Course Topic:	Language and the Law				

Term GPA	3.668	Term Totals	Attempted 22.000	Earned 22.000	Points 73.360
Cum GPA	3.562	Cum Totals	114.000	114.000	384.740

TO VERIFY: TRANSLUCENT GLOBE ICONS MUST BE VISIBLE WHEN HELD TOWARD A LIGHT SOURCE

Brandeis

UNIVERSITY

Office of the University Registrar
Waltham, MA 02453-2728

Mark S. Hewitt
University Registrar

Official Undergraduate Transcript

Name: Xaveria Noelle Mayerhofer
Student ID: 20773196

Undergraduate Record Page 3 of 3
April 9, 2021

Term Honor

Dean's List

Fall Semester 2020

Course		Description	Attempted	Earned	Grade	Points
ARBC	106A	Advanced Arabic I: Contemporary Arabic Literature	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LGLS	89A	Law and Society Internship and Seminar	4.000	4.000	A	16.000
LGLS	125B	International Law and Organizations	4.000	4.000	A+	16.000
LGLS	189A	Business Law	4.000	4.000	B+	13.320
LING	150A	Historical Linguistics and Language Change	4.000	4.000	A	16.000

			Attempted	Earned	Points
Term GPA	3.866	Term Totals	20.000	20.000	77.320
Cum GPA	3.610	Cum Totals	134.000	134.000	462.060
Term Honor		Dean's List			

Undergraduate Career Totals
Cum GPA

3.610

Cum Totals

134.000

134.000

462.060

End of Official Undergraduate Transcript



TO VERIFY: TRANSLUCENT GLOBE ICONS MUST BE VISIBLE WHEN HELD TOWARD A LIGHT SOURCE

THE GENTRY LAW FIRM

1100 Tijeras Ave NW ▪ Albuquerque, New Mexico 87102
(505) 764-0111 ▪ staff@jgentrylaw.com

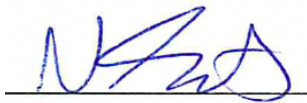
Dear Judge Walker,

It is with great pleasure that I write to recommend Xaveria Mayerhofer for a clerkship. I originally hired Xaveria as an undergraduate intern for the summer of 2018. She subsequently returned as a full time employee and has continued to work part time during her legal education. Throughout her tenure, Xaveria has consistently sought new challenges, assumed additional responsibilities and cultivated skills that will make her a successful law clerk.

Xaveria is conscientious, detail-oriented, and reliable. She balances assignments from three attorneys for dozens of clients. For one client, Xaveria researched over two hundred businesses, drafted subpoenas to their registered agents, and personally served half of them to save the client time and money. She is always concerned with producing the best work possible, even while balancing competing priorities. During her tenure, Xaveria has been a full-time student and completed multiple internships with other legal organizations. Despite her many commitments, Xaveria maintains the high quality of her work and meets every deadline. Additionally, her research and writing abilities have continuously improved since 2018. She has progressed from writing basic pleadings to composing advanced legal arguments for persuasive motions, findings of fact and conclusions of law, and legal memoranda. In fact, due to the caliber of her work, I tasked Xaveria with creating a training manual for new employees, which she has used to train three new hires to date. Xaveria has not only dedicated herself to her studies and work, but also uses her experience and abilities to assist her colleagues. Her commitment to the legal profession and her eagerness to learn will make her an exceptional asset to any organization of which she is a part.

I unreservedly recommend Xaveria to Your Honor. Her work ethic, professionalism, and dedication to the law are unparalleled. Xaveria is an invaluable employee at my firm, and I am confident she will excel as a law clerk in your office as she has in mine.

Sincerely,



Nathaniel Gentry, esq.

June 12, 2023

The Honorable Jamar Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, VA 23510-1915

Dear Judge Walker:

I write this letter to express my support for Xaveria Mayerhofer in her application for a clerkship in your chambers. I am currently an Assistant Professor of Law at the University of New Mexico School of Law (UNMSOL), where I teach in the Law and Indigenous Peoples Program. I have worked with Xaveria in my Fall 2022 Indian Law Appellate Advocacy course, and she is currently enrolled in my Spring 2023 Indian Children, Youth and Families Law course.

Xaveria earned the highest grade in the Indian Law Appellate Advocacy class based on her superb performance during oral arguments and her well-written brief. In class, Xaveria is generally reserved, but she is bright and articulate when called upon. She is also professional, welcoming of constructive feedback, and has the clear desire and ability to complete high caliber work. The final written work product for the Indian Law Appellate Advocacy course was an appellate brief that discussed a constitutional challenge to the Indian Child Welfare Act, which required significant research on a myriad of sources related to Indian law, including statutes, case law, and legislative history. In her final brief, Xaveria showed firm legal research and writing skills, and she was able to effectively synthesize the landmark cases at issue while applying the rules to the facts at issue. Xaveria also had an exceptional performance during the final oral arguments, where she gracefully handled complex questions from a panel of current and former New Mexico Court of Appeals' judges.

I am confident that Xaveria Mayerhofer is a good candidate for a judicial clerkship, and I am happy to give her my recommendation. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any additional questions or require any additional information.

Sincerely,

Vanessa Racehorse
Assistant Professor of Law
University of New Mexico School of Law

Vanessa Racehorse - vanessa.racehorse@law.unm.edu

June 12, 2023

The Honorable Jamar Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, VA 23510-1915

Dear Judge Walker:

I am a member of the faculty at the University of New Mexico School of Law, and it is my privilege to recommend Xaveria Mayerhofer for a judicial clerkship. I met and worked closely with Ms. Mayerhofer in Spring 2022, when she excelled as a student in one of my first-year legal writing courses, Elements of Legal Argumentation II. Having worked very closely with Ms. Mayerhofer, I know her well and recommend her enthusiastically for a judicial clerkship.

Ms. Mayerhofer is an outstanding writer. As a student in my legal writing class, Ms. Mayerhofer was required to write briefs both in support of and in opposition to a civil defendant's motion to dismiss for lack of personal jurisdiction. Ms. Mayerhofer excelled in every aspect of both assignments. Her work demonstrated thorough research, a deep understanding of the governing law, and a true mastery of the case and arguments. Ms. Mayerhofer's writing was clear and professional, demonstrating superb editing and proofreading skills. Based on her excellent performance, Ms. Mayerhofer earned an A- in my course, placing her among the top students in the class. More impressively, though, Ms. Mayerhofer's final paper was the best brief I read that semester out of 70 briefs submitted by the 35 students in my two sections. Her arguments were truly exceptional.

Ms. Mayerhofer has also stood out in other ways as a law student. For example, Ms. Mayerhofer earned the CALI Awards for Indian Law Appellate Advocacy and for Constitutional Rights, which is a required course at UNM. Ms. Mayerhofer has also worked as a law clerk for the U.S. Attorney's Office, the Pueblo of Isleta Appellate Court, and the New Mexico State Ethics Commission. This summer, she will serve as a judicial extern for Judge George P. Eichwald of New Mexico's Thirteenth Judicial District Court. By the time that she graduates, Ms. Mayerhofer should be ready to hit the ground running as a judicial clerk.

Finally, Ms. Mayerhofer has the personal characteristics to be an excellent judicial clerk. In my course, Ms. Mayerhofer was always enthusiastic about becoming a better writer and advocate. She was a regular visitor during my office hours, and I quickly discovered that she is a great listener, has an outstanding work ethic, and holds herself to the highest standards. Ms. Mayerhofer has an excellent eye for detail.

Ms. Mayerhofer writing skills, work habits, and personal characteristics make her an outstanding clerkship candidate, and I am honored to recommend her. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or would like additional information.

Sincerely,

Scott England
Principal Lecturer & Regents' Lecturer
505.289.6268 (mobile)
scott.england@law.unm.edu

Scott England - scott.england@law.unm.edu - 505-277-2646

Xaveria Mayerhofer

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This mock dissent for *Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill* (No. 21-707) was written for a class in Fall 2022 in which each student was randomly assigned a Supreme Court Justice and, from that Justice's perspective, voted on the case and wrote a correlating opinion. I was assigned Justice Jackson and voted in the minority. This dissent is modeled after the writing style of her circuit court opinions.

Justice Jackson's opinions generally contain the same four sections: (1) Background, (2) Legal Standards, (3) Analysis, and (4) Conclusion. Although there are multiple issues raised by this action, this excerpt focuses solely on the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection issue. Here, I have omitted the Background and Conclusion sections and excerpted only the Legal Standard and Analysis sections directly related to the Fourteenth Amendment analysis. This writing sample is unedited by others. Upon request, I am happy to provide the full mock opinion.

I. The Legal Standard of the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause

The Fourteenth Amendment prohibits a state, or state actor, from enacting and enforcing discriminatory laws. U.S. Const. amend. XIV, § 1. The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment states, “No State shall...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” *Id.* There is a three-tiered system of judicial review to determine whether a state law violates the Equal Protection Clause: rational basis review, intermediate scrutiny, and strict scrutiny. *See, e.g., City of Cleburne v. Cleburne Living Ctr.*, 473 U.S. 432, 440, 105 S. Ct. 3249 (1985) (discussing the appropriate standard of judicial review under the Equal Protection Clause). The most deferential form of judicial review is rational basis review. *United States v. Vaello Madero*, 142 S. Ct. 1539, 1543, 212 L. Ed. 2d 496 (2022). Rational basis review applies when a challenged law does not target a suspect or quasi-suspect class. *See Armour v. City of Indianapolis*, 566 U.S. 673, 680-681, 132 S. Ct. 2073 (2012); *City of New Orleans v. Dukes*, 427 U.S. 297, 303-304, 96 S. Ct. 2513 (1976). Next, intermediate review introduces a stricter standard of review for laws that discriminate against a quasi-suspect class; that is, laws that discriminate on the basis of gender or illegitimacy. *See United States v. Virginia*, 518 U.S. 515, 568, 116 S. Ct. 2264 (1996) (Scalia, J., dissenting); *Craig v. Boren*, 429 U.S. 190, 197, 97 S. Ct. 451 (1976). Strict scrutiny, the most stringent form of judicial review, is reserved for laws that discriminate on the basis of race, religion, national origin, or alienage--the suspect classes. *See Fulton v. City of Phila.*, 141 S. Ct. 1868, 1881, 210 L. Ed. 2d 137 (2021); *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306, 326-327, 123 S. Ct. 2325 (2003).

Strict scrutiny is required when a law classifies by race because “[d]istinctions between citizens solely because of their ancestry are by their very nature odious to a free people whose institutions are founded upon the doctrine of equality.” *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S.

81, 100, 63 S. Ct. 1375 (1943). The strict scrutiny standard requires that the government prove the law or policy furthers a compelling government interest, and that the structure of the law or policy is narrowly tailored to achieve the compelling interest. *Brown v. Gov't of the D.C.*, 390 F. Supp. 3d 114, 125 (D.D.C. 2019) (citing *Reed v. Town of Gilbert*, 576 U.S. 155, 170, 135 S. Ct. 2218 (2015)). The government must first establish a legislative goal that is compelling, *Rothe Dev., Inc. v. Dep't of Def.*, 107 F. Supp. 3d 183, 207 (D.D.C. 2015), *aff'd sub nom.*, *Rothe Dev., Inc. v. United States Dep't of Def.*, 836 F.3d 57 (D.C. Cir. 2016); that is, one that “is essential or necessary rather than a matter of choice, preference, or discretion.” Ronald Steiner, *Compelling State Interest*, The First Amendment Encyclopedia (2009). After articulating a compelling interest, the government must “show that ‘the means chosen to accomplish the government’s asserted purpose are specifically and narrowly framed to accomplish that purpose.’” *Rothe Dev. Inc.*, 107 F. Supp. 3d at 208 (quoting *DynaLantic Corp. v. United States Dep't of Def.*, 885 F. Supp. 2d 237, 283 (D.D.C. 2012)). If the government is able to show both that there is a compelling legislative goal and the means chosen to accomplish this goal are specifically and narrowly framed, “the burden shifts to the plaintiff ‘to present credible, particularized evidence to rebut the government’s initial showing of a compelling interest.’” *Id.* at 207 (quoting *DynaLantic Corp.*, 885 F. Supp. 2d at 251).

The Court has recognized that “remedying the effects of past or present racial discrimination” is a compelling government interest. *DynaLantic Corp.*, 885 F. Supp. 2d at 250. While this is a compelling interest, the government must show “a strong basis in evidence supporting its conclusion that race-based remedial action was necessary to further that interest.” *Id.* To assert that remedial action is necessary, “the government need not ‘conclusively prove the existence of racial discrimination in the past or present, and the government may rely on both

statistical and anecdotal evidence, although anecdotal evidence alone cannot establish a strong basis in evidence for the purposes of strict scrutiny.” *Rothe Dev. Inc.*, 107 F. Supp. 3d at 207 (quoting *DynaLantic*, 885 F. Supp. 2d at 250).

The law must also be narrowly tailored. *Rothe Dev. Inc.*, 107 F. Supp. 3d at 192. Narrow tailoring requires a law to be “specifically and narrowly framed to accomplish [the government’s] purpose.” *Wygant v. Jackson Bd. of Educ.*, 476 U.S. 267, 280, 106 S. Ct. 1842 (1986). To determine whether a race-conscious measure is narrowly tailored, “courts consider several factors...including: ‘(1) the efficacy of alternative, race-neutral remedies, (2) flexibility, (3) over- or under-inclusiveness of the program, (4) duration, (5) the relationship between numerical goals and the relevant labor market, and (6) the impact of the remedy on third parties.’” *Rothe Dev.*, 107 F. Supp. 3d at 208 (quoting *DynaLantic Corp.*, 885 F. Supp. 2d at 283). Although the government must show that its policy serves a compelling interest and is narrowly tailored to achieving that interest, “the ultimate burden of proof remains with the challenging party to demonstrate the unconstitutionality of an affirmative-action program.” *DynaLantic Corp.*, 885 F. Supp. 2d at 251. If the government shows that the race-based measure is narrowly tailored to a compelling government interest, the burden shifts to the plaintiff, who then must provide evidence of the measure’s unconstitutionality.

[I omitted a section here which explained each of the below-referenced cases in detail.]

From *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas* in 1954 to *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin* in 2016, this Court has conducted searching reviews of the use of race in school admissions. See 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954), *supplemented sub nom.*, 349 U.S. 294, 75 S. Ct. 753 (1955); 579 U.S. 365, 136 S. Ct. 2198 (2016). In *Brown*, the Court determined that race could not be a factor used to deny a person access to equal educational

opportunities. 347 U.S. at 495. In *Regents of University of California v. Bakke*, the Court held that the use of race in college admissions decisions is permissible so long as it satisfies strict scrutiny. 438 U.S. 265, 287, 98 S. Ct. 2733 (1978). The Court used the two University of Michigan cases, *Gratz v. Bollinger* and *Grutter v. Bollinger*, to distinguish between policies that violate the Constitution and those that are constitutionally valid. *Gratz*, 539 U.S. 244, 251, 123 S. Ct. 2411 (2003); *Grutter*, 539 U.S. 306, 317, 123 S. Ct. 2325 (2003). The Court held that obtaining a “critical mass” of diverse students by using race as a “plus” factor met the standard of strict scrutiny, whereas a quota system is not narrowly tailored. *Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 334 (finding that the use of race is narrowly tailored when it is a single factor among many and used in a flexible, non-mechanical way); *contra Gratz*, 539 U.S. at 273 (holding that an applicant’s race cannot be decisive in an institution’s admissions decisions). Finally, in *Fisher I* and *Fisher II*, the Court reiterated its holding that strict scrutiny must be applied to race-based policies. *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin*, 570 U.S. 297, 306, 133 S. Ct. 2411 (2013) (“*Fisher I*”); *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin*, 579 U.S. 365, 136 S. Ct. 2198 (2016) (“*Fisher II*”). An institution may use race as one factor of the admissions process so long as the institution subjects its race-based policy to an ongoing evaluation of whether the consideration of race continues to be necessary to accomplish the institution’s goals. *Compare Fisher I*, 570 U.S. at 315, *with Fisher II*, 579 U.S. at 375. Through this precedent, the Court has established a framework in which universities may accomplish their objectives without violating the constraints of the Fourteenth Amendment.

II. The Admissions Policy of the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill Comports With The Protections Of The Fourteenth Amendment.

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (“UNC”) meets the government’s burden of showing that its admissions policy serves a compelling government interest and is narrowly tailored to that interest. The admissions application for UNC allows students to optionally

self-report race. (ECF No. 154-7 ¶ 10.) The indication of race, if self-reported, is one of over forty factors in the admissions process. *Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. Univ. of N.C.*, 567 F. Supp. 3d 580, 601 (M.D.N.C. 2021), *cert. granted before judgment*, 142 S. Ct. 896 (2022) (“*Students*”). Students for Fair Admission (“SFFA”) claims that this optional, self-reported diversity factor violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. (Compl. ¶ 38.) Specifically, SFFA alleges that UNC’s race-conscious admissions policy consists of “intentional[] discriminat[ion]...on the basis of...race, color, or ethnicity in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.” (Compl. ¶ 198.) However, UNC’s admissions policy is narrowly tailored to achieve the compelling educational goals of diversity. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 588. Therefore, the policy is constitutional.

A. UNC Has Demonstrated That Its Admissions Policy Serves A Compelling Government Interest And Is Narrowly Tailored To Accomplish That Interest.

In each of its on-point cases, the Court has emphasized that strict scrutiny must be used to review any university admissions policy that incorporates race as a factor in its decisions. *See* § II(E) *supra* (omitted here, as stated above). Even outside the realm of education, any law that distinguishes on the basis of race is subject to strict scrutiny. *See, e.g., Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 326 (“All racial classifications imposed by government must be analyzed by a reviewing court under strict scrutiny.”). Strict scrutiny “requires the Government to prove that the restriction furthers a compelling interest and is narrowly tailored to achieve that interest.” *Reed*, 576 U.S. at 170. A compelling interest “is essential or necessary rather than a matter of choice, preference, or discretion.” Steiner, *Compelling State Interest*. The Court has found that an institution’s interest in diversity and the educational benefits that flow from diversity are compelling. *Regents of Bakke*, 438 U.S. at 314 (“The interest of diversity is compelling in the context of a university’s admissions program.”); *Gratz*, 539 U.S. at 325 (“Student body diversity is a compelling state

interest that can justify the use of race in university admissions.”). So long as the institution’s use of race to achieve its compelling interest in diversity is narrowly tailored, the policy will survive strict scrutiny. *Fisher I*, 570 U.S. at 314 (“The higher education dynamic does not change the narrow tailoring analysis of strict scrutiny.”).

A law is narrowly tailored when it is “specifically and narrowly framed to accomplish [the government’s] purpose.” *Wygant*, 476 U.S. at 280. To determine whether a race-conscious measure in a hiring context is narrowly tailored, courts consider factors such as: “(1) the efficacy of alternative, race-neutral remedies, (2) flexibility, (3) over- or under-inclusiveness of the program, (4) duration, (5) the relationship between numerical goals and the relevant labor market, and (6) the impact of the remedy on third parties.” *Rothe Dev*, 107 F. Supp. 3d at 208 (quoting *DynaLantic Corp.*, 885 F. Supp. 2d at 283). Similarly, an inquiry into a race-conscious admissions policy will evaluate whether a race-neutral alternative exists, the university’s attempts to limit or eliminate its use of race in admissions decisions, and the expected duration of the race-conscious policy. *See generally*, *Fisher I*, 570 U.S. 297; *Grutter*, 539 U.S. 206.

A race-based admissions policy is permissible under the Fourteenth Amendment, so long as it meets the standards of strict scrutiny. Race is a valid consideration for admissions when it is not part of a prohibited quota system, *Grutter*, 539 U.S. at 334, it is used as one factor among many, *Bakke*, 438 U.S. at 318, and it is not the determinative factor of student admissions. *Fisher II*, 136 S. Ct. at 2212. Additionally, any institution that utilizes racial considerations in its admissions decisions must regularly assess its admissions policy to determine whether the use of race is necessary to achieve its goals of diversity and the benefits that flow from a diverse institutional body. *Id.* at 2209-2210.

UNC's admissions process furthers the compelling interests of diversity and the educational benefits that flow from diversity, and its policy is narrowly tailored to achieve those interests. First, UNC has a compelling interest in diversity and the benefits that stem from a diverse student body. *See Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 588. SFFA, on the whole, does not claim that UNC lacks compelling interests in diversity and the educational benefits that flow from it. *See id.* Transcript of Oral Argument at 9, *Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. Univ. of N.C.* (2022) (No. 21-707) (henceforth "Oral Argument") (SFFA attorney affirming that "remediation is an acceptable compelling interest"); *id.* at 59 (SFFA attorney acknowledging that universities have an interest in diversity and its educational benefits). UNC's interest in racial diversity is to create the next generation of leaders, to promote the research and scholarship of diverse students, to foster mutually beneficial interactions between diverse peoples, and in other benefits that flow from educational diversity. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 588-589. Since 1978, this Court has recognized that diversity and the educational benefits that flow from diversity are compelling interests. *Bakke*, 438 U.S. at 314. Because UNC's use of race in its admissions policy serves a compelling interest, the policy must be upheld so long as it is narrowly tailored.

Second, UNC's admissions policy is narrowly tailored to its goals of diversity. SFFA asserts that UNC's policy is not narrowly tailored because it does not use race as a mere "plus" factor, (Compl. ¶ 198), each applicant is not evaluated as an individual, (Compl. ¶ 199), race is a defining feature of applications to UNC, (Compl. ¶ 199), and UNC could meet its diversity goals without utilizing a race-conscious admissions policy. (Compl. ¶ 206.) UNC rebuts these assertions by providing evidence that race is one of over forty possible "plus" factors and that the weight of such "plus" factors is only determined in the holistic context of the application, thereby allowing UNC admissions officers to consider each applicant as an individual. *Students*, 567 F.

Supp. 3d at 595, 601. UNC also offered evidence that race is not a defining feature of any application, *id.*, that race is only influential in 1-2% of decisions, Oral Argument at 91-92, and that there are no separate admissions processes for applicants on the basis of race. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 595. In so doing, UNC has delineated itself from the unconstitutional policies in *Bakke* and *Gratz*. Finally, UNC has refuted SFFA's claims by providing detailed expert analysis and testimony to demonstrate first, that it has made good faith efforts to find a race-neutral means of achieving the same goals and, second, that no alternative policy could achieve its goals without sacrificing the institution's diversity, its academic excellence, or both. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 666. UNC's use of race in its admissions policy is narrowly tailored to UNC's compelling interests. UNC has demonstrated the efficiency and flexibility of its current policy as well as its continuing good faith efforts to find a race-neutral alternative. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 666. This Court has held that "[t]he fact that race consciousness played a role in only a small portion of admissions decisions should be a hallmark of narrow tailoring, not evidence of unconstitutionality." *Fisher II*, 579 U.S. at 384-85. Likewise, here, UNC's minimal use of race in its decisions is a hallmark of UNC's narrowly tailored race-conscious policy. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 634. To determine whether a race-neutral alternative exists, both parties retained qualified experts¹ who testified and provided reports on the efficacy of numerous race-neutral alternatives. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 612-613. Thorough explorations of alternative admissions schemes demonstrate that no race-neutral alternative would achieve the same goals of diversity in a comparable manner. *Id.* at 648 ("None of the models before [the Court] from either party would be viable in reproducing the educational benefits of diversity about as well as a

¹ SFFA's expert, Professor Arcidiacono, has a Ph.D. in economics, specializes in empirical models, and has been a researcher and professor for over twenty years. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 612. UNC's expert, Professor Hoxby, has a Ph.D. in economics, specializes in the economics of education, and is an award-winning researcher. *Id.* at 613.

race-conscious admissions policy.”).² The lack of an explicit endpoint does not change the fact that UNC’s policy is narrowly tailored. While race is not meant to be used in admissions considerations permanently, this Court has not required institutions to cite definitive endpoints. *Fisher II*, 136 S. Ct. at 2209-10. Instead, periodic assessments of an institution’s progress are sufficient to demonstrate its commitment to ending its race-conscious policy once its goals have been met. *Id.* Here, as in this Court’s precedent, UNC has not cited a specific endpoint, either in terms of a date or in terms of student body enrollment. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 610. Instead, UNC conducts periodic assessments of its progress in achieving student body diversity. *Id.* at 612. So long as it continues to do so, UNC will meet the requirement to conduct good faith attempts to implement a race-neutral alternative to its current policy. Because UNC’s use of race in its admissions policy is narrowly tailored to achieving the compelling interests of student body diversity and the benefits that flow from diversity, UNC’s admissions policy satisfies the requirements of the Equal Protection Clause.

B. UNC’s Admissions Policy Satisfies Strict Scrutiny And Serves The Legislative Purpose Of The Fourteenth Amendment.

[The paragraphs containing an explanation and analysis of the history and intent of the Fourteenth Amendment have been omitted.]

Despite efforts, like those at UNC, to rectify the nation’s history of discrimination “much progress remains to be made in our Nation’s continuing struggle against racial isolation.” *Tex. Dep’t of Hous. & Cmty. Affs. v. Inclusive Cmty. Project, Inc.*, 576 U.S. 519, 546, 135 S. Ct. 2507 (2015). Race, therefore, “may be considered in certain circumstances and in a proper fashion” to achieve the goals of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Id.* at 545. When a policy is narrowly tailored to

² In the trial court, the parties and their respective experts presented over 100 race-neutral alternatives. These alternatives included various formulations placing greater emphasis on socioeconomic factors, percentage plans, community-based preferences, geography, and student-teacher ratios, to name a few. Each alternative lowered UNC’s racial minority enrollment, its standards of academic excellence, or both. *Students*, 567 F. Supp. 3d at 640.

achieving the intent, promise, and legacy of the Fourteenth Amendment, the consideration of race is not only constitutionally permissible, but constitutionally endorsed. UNC's race-conscious admissions policy is narrowly tailored to serve its compelling interests in diversity, and it furthers the original intent of the Fourteenth Amendment. Accordingly, I concur with the District Court's conclusion that the strict scrutiny standard has been met, that UNC's admissions policy is facially constitutional, despite its reliance on race-conscious criteria, and that race-conscious policies, such as UNC's, are within the contemplated effects of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Applicant Details

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Citizenship Status	U. S. Citizen
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Applicant Education

BA/BS From	Dartmouth College
Date of BA/BS	June 2020
JD/LLB From	The George Washington University Law School
	https://www.law.gwu.edu/
Date of JD/LLB	May 19, 2024
Class Rank	5%
Law Review/Journal	Yes
Journal(s)	George Washington Law Review
Moot Court Experience	No

Bar Admission

Prior Judicial Experience

Judicial Internships/ Externships	Yes
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Post-graduate Judicial Law Clerk **No**

Specialized Work Experience

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This applicant has certified that all data entered in this profile and any application documents are true and correct.

Maeve McBride

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June 11, 2023

The Honorable Jamar K. Walker
United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia
Norfolk, VA

Dear Judge Walker:

I am a law student at The George Washington University Law School and will be graduating in May 2024. I am writing to apply for a judicial clerkship with you for the 2024 Term. I am enclosing a resume, law transcript, and a writing sample. Also enclosed are recommendations from Professors Peter Smith, Sonia Suter, JP Collins, and Tania Valdez. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Maeve McBride

Maeve McBride

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EDUCATION

The George Washington University Law School

Washington, DC

J.D., expected

May 2024

Honors: George Washington Scholar (Top 1%-15% of class to date); GPA: 3.993
Dean's Recognition for Professional Development

Journal: *The George Washington Law Review*, Managing Editor

Activities: Research Assistant to Professor Tania Valdez (Spring 2023);
Teaching Assistant to Professor Tania Valdez (Fall 2022);
Peer Tutor (Civil Procedure);
Student Health Law Association (Member)

Dartmouth College

Hanover, NH

B.A., *cum laude*, in Anthropology

June 2020

Honors: Third Honor Group; GPA: 3.76

Leadership: Access Dartmouth, a campus organization dedicated to disability advocacy (Founder and Treasurer);
Kappa Delta Sorority (Vice President Operations);

Activities: Dartmouth Outing Club Ledyard Canoe Club; Dartmouth Museum Club

EXPERIENCE

Covington and Burling

Washington, DC

Summer Associate

May–July 2023

- Researched legal issues including civil procedure, and legislative history
- Communicated legal research and analysis to attorneys through legal memoranda and oral presentations

U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia

Washington, DC

Judicial Intern, Chambers of the Honorable G. Michael Harvey, Magistrate Judge January–April 2023

- Researched legal issues including administrative law, and procedural issues
- Communicated legal research and analysis to clerks and the judge through legal memoranda

Public Defender for Arlington County

Arlington, VA

Legal Intern

September–November 2022

- Researched legal issues including statute of limitations, restitution, and penalties
- Worked collaboratively with interns, attorneys, and other staff to draft motions to the court

Shumaker, Loop and Kendrick

Toledo, OH

Summer Associate

May–July 2022

- Researched and drafted memorandum on proposes SEC rules
- Drafted due diligence report for company acquiring manufactured home parks throughout Ohio

Ottawa Hills Elementary School

Toledo, OH

Paraprofessional

August 2020–June 2021

- Worked in tandem with teachers to plan and execute daily activities for struggling readers

INTERESTS

- Visiting art museums
- Watching F1 and College Football (Go Bucks!!)

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

Gwid : G49933196
Date of Birth: 23-MAY

Date Issued: 05-JUN-2023

Record of: Maeve McBride

Page: 1

Student Level: Law
Admit Term: Fall 2021

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Current College(s):Law School
Current Major(s): Law

SUBJ NO COURSE TITLE CRDT GRD PTS

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY CREDIT:

Fall 2021

Law School
Law

LAW 6202	Contracts Morant	4.00	A
LAW 6206	Torts Suter	4.00	A+
LAW 6212	Civil Procedure Smith	4.00	A+
LAW 6216	Fundamentals Of Lawyering I Collins	3.00	A
Ehrs	15.00 GPA-Hrs	15.00	GPA 4.178
CUM	15.00 GPA-Hrs	15.00	GPA 4.178
GEORGE WASHINGTON SCHOLAR			
TOP 1%-15% OF THE CLASS TO DATE			

Spring 2022

Law School
Law

LAW 6208	Property Roberts	4.00	B+
LAW 6209	Legislation And Regulation Smith	3.00	A+
LAW 6210	Criminal Law Cottrol	3.00	A
LAW 6214	Constitutional Law I Fontana	3.00	A-
LAW 6217	Fundamentals Of Lawyering II Collins	3.00	A
Ehrs	16.00 GPA-Hrs	16.00	GPA 3.833
CUM	31.00 GPA-Hrs	31.00	GPA 4.000
Good Standing			
DEAN'S RECOGNITION FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT			
GEORGE WASHINGTON SCHOLAR			
TOP 1%-15% OF THE CLASS TO DATE			

***** CONTINUED ON NEXT COLUMN *****

Fall 2022

Law School
Law

LAW 6230	Evidence Durrer	3.00	A
LAW 6397	Federal Indian Law Alexander	2.00	A
LAW 6526	International Trade Law Charnovitz	2.00	A
LAW 6668	Field Placement Mccoy	3.00	CR
LAW 6671	Government Lawyering Williams	2.00	A
Ehrs	12.00 GPA-Hrs	9.00	GPA 4.000
CUM	43.00 GPA-Hrs	40.00	GPA 4.000
Good Standing			
GEORGE WASHINGTON SCHOLAR			
TOP 1% - 15% OF THE CLASS TO DATE			

Spring 2023

LAW 6218	Professional Responslbty/Ethic	2.00	A-
LAW 6360	Criminal Procedure	4.00	A
LAW 6400	Administrative Law On	3.00	A+
LAW 6595	Race, Racism, And American Law	2.00	A-
LAW 6667	Advanced Field Placement	0.00	CR
LAW 6668	Field Placement	3.00	CR
Ehrs	14.00 GPA-Hrs	11.00	GPA 3.970
CUM	57.00 GPA-Hrs	51.00	GPA 3.993
Good Standing			
GEORGE WASHINGTON SCHOLAR			
TOP 1% - 15% OF THE CLASS TO DATE			

Fall 2022

Law School
Law

LAW 6657	Law Review Note	1.00	-----
Credits In Progress:		1.00	

Spring 2023

LAW 6657	Law Review Note	1.00	-----
Credits In Progress:		1.00	
***** CONTINUED ON PAGE 2 *****			



Katie Cloud
Katie Cloud
Interim University Registrar

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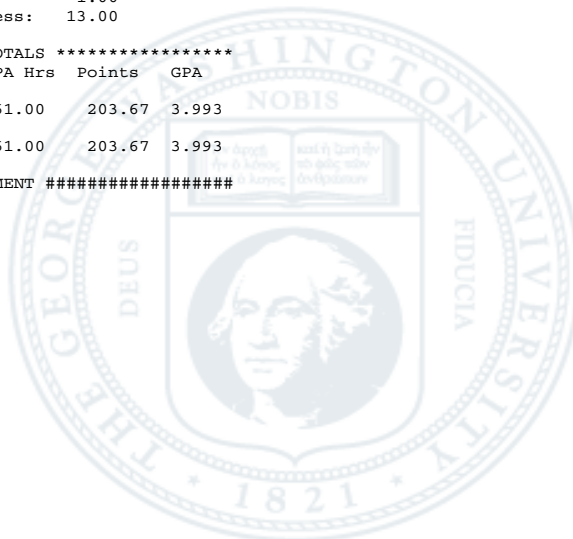
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, DC

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

GWid : G49933196
Date of Birth: 23-MAY
Record of: Maeve McBride

Date Issued: 05-JUN-2023
Page: 2

SUBJ NO	COURSE TITLE	CRDT	GRD	PTS
Fall 2023				
LAW 6234	Conflict Of Laws	3.00	-----	
LAW 6236	Complex Litigation	3.00	-----	
LAW 6300	Federal Income Taxation	3.00	-----	
LAW 6394	Sexuality And The Law	3.00	-----	
LAW 6658	Law Review	1.00	-----	
Credits In Progress:		13.00		
***** TRANSCRIPT TOTALS *****				
Earned Hrs		GPA Hrs	Points	GPA
TOTAL INSTITUTION	57.00	51.00	203.67	3.993
OVERALL	57.00	51.00	203.67	3.993
##### END OF DOCUMENT #####				



Katie Cloud
Katie Cloud
Interim University Registrar

This transcript processed and delivered by Parchment

Office of the Registrar
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Washington, DC 20052

NOTICE TO RECIPIENT

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DESIGNATION OF CREDIT

All courses are taught in semester hours.

TRANSFER CREDIT

Transfer courses listed on your transcript are bonafide courses and are assigned as advanced standing. However, whether or not these courses fulfill degree requirements is determined by individual school criteria. The notation of TR indicates credit accepted from a postsecondary institution or awarded by AP/IB exam.

EXPLANATION OF COURSE NUMBERING SYSTEM

All colleges and schools beginning Fall 2010 semester:

1000 to 1999	Primarily introductory undergraduate courses.
2000 to 4999	Advanced undergraduate courses that can also be taken for graduate credit with permission and additional work.
5000 to 5999	Special courses or part of special programs available to all students as part of ongoing curriculum innovation.
6000 to 6999	For master's, doctoral, and professional-level students; open to advanced undergraduate students with approval of the instructors and the dean or advising office.
8000 to 8999	For master's, doctoral, and professional-level students.

All colleges and schools except the Law School, the School of Medicine and Health Sciences, and the School of Public Health and Health Services before Fall 2010 semester:

001 to 100	Designed for freshman and sophomore students. Open to juniors and seniors with approval. Used by graduate students to make up undergraduate prerequisites. Not for graduate credit.
101 to 200	Designed for junior and senior students. With appropriate approval, specified courses may be taken for graduate credit by completing additional work.
201 to 300	Primarily for graduate students. Open to qualified seniors with approval of instructor and department chair. In School of Business, open only to seniors with a GPA of 3.00 or better as well as approval of department chair and dean.
301 to 400	Graduate School of Education and Human Development, School of Engineering and Applied Science, and Elliott School of International Affairs – Designed primarily for graduate students. Columbian College of Arts and Sciences – Limited to graduate students, primarily for doctoral students. School of Business – Limited to doctoral students.
700s	The 700 series is an ongoing program of curriculum innovation. The series includes courses taught by distinguished University Professors.
801	This number designates Dean's Seminar courses.

The Law School

Before June 1, 1968:

100 to 200	Required courses for first-year students.
201 to 300	Required and elective courses for Bachelor of Laws or Juris Doctor curriculum. Open to master's candidates with approval.
301 to 400	Advanced courses. Primarily for master's candidates. Open to LL.B or J.D. candidates with approval.

After June 1, 1968 through Summer 2010 semester:

201 to 299	Required courses for J.D. candidates.
300 to 499	Designed for second- and third-year J.D. candidates. Open to master's candidates only with special permission.
500 to 850	Designed for advanced law degree students. Open to J.D. candidates only with special permission.

School of Medicine and Health Sciences and

School of Public Health and Health Services before Fall 2010 semester:

001 to 200	Designed for students in undergraduate programs.
201 to 800	Designed for M.D., health sciences, public health, health services, exercise science and other graduate degree candidates in the basic sciences.

CORCORAN COLLEGE OF ART + DESIGN

The George Washington University merged with the Corcoran College of Art + Design, effective August 21, 2014. For the pre-merger Corcoran transcript key, please visit <http://go.gwu.edu/corcorantranscriptkey>

THE CONSORTIUM OF UNIVERSITIES OF
THE WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA

Courses taken through the Consortium are recorded using the visited institutions' department symbol and course number in the first positions of the title field. The visited institution is denoted with one of the following GW abbreviations.

AU	American University	MMU	Marymount University
CORC	Corcoran College of Art & Design	MV	Mount Vernon College
CU	Catholic University of America	NVCC	Northern Virginia Community College
GC	Gallaudet University	PGCC	Prince George's Community College
GU	Georgetown University	SEU	Southeastern University
GL	Georgetown Law Center	TC	Trinity Washington University
GMU	George Mason University	USU	Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences
HU	Howard University	UDC	University of the District of Columbia
MC	Montgomery College	UMD	University of Maryland

GRADING SYSTEMS

Undergraduate Grading System

A, Excellent; B, Good; C, Satisfactory; D, Low Pass; F, Fail; I, Incomplete; IPG, In Progress; W, Authorized Withdrawal; Z, Unauthorized Withdrawal; P, Pass; NP, No Pass; AU, Audit. When a grade is assigned to a course that was originally assigned a grade of I, the I is replaced by the final grade. Through Summer 2014 the I was replaced with I and the final grade.

Effective Fall 2011: The grading symbol RP indicates the class was repeated under Academic Forgiveness.

Effective Fall 2003: The grading symbol R indicates need to repeat course.

Prior to Summer 1992: When a grade is assigned to a course that was originally assigned a grade of I, the grade is replaced with I/ and the grade.

Effective Fall 1987: The following grading symbols were added: A-, B+, B-, C+, C-, D+, D-.

Effective Summer 1980: The grading symbols: P, Pass, and NP, No Pass, replace CR, Credit, and NC, No Credit.

Graduate Grading System

(Excludes Law and M.D. programs.) A, Excellent; B, Good; C, Minimum Pass; F, Failure; I, Incomplete; IPG, In Progress; CR, Credit; W, Authorized Withdrawal; Z, Unauthorized Withdrawal; AU, Audit. When a grade is assigned to a course that was originally assigned a grade of I, the grade is replaced with I and the grade. Through Summer 2014 the I was replaced with I and the final grade.

Effective Fall 1994: The following grading symbols were added: A-, B+, B-, C+, C- grades on the graduate level.

Law Grading System

A+, A, A-, Excellent; B+, B, B-, Good; C+, C, C-, Passing; D, Minimum Pass; F, Failure; CR, Credit; NC, No Credit; I, Incomplete. When a grade is assigned to a course that was originally assigned a grade of I, the grade is replaced with I and the grade. Through Summer 2014 the I was replaced with I and the final grade.

M.D. Program Grading System

H, Honors; HP, High Pass; P, Pass; F, Failure; IP, In Progress; I, Incomplete; CN, Conditional; W, Withdrawal; X, Exempt; CN/P, Conditional converted to Pass; CN/F, Conditional converted to Failure. Through Summer 2014 the I was replaced with I and the final grade.

For historical information not included in the transcript key, please visit

<http://www.gwu.edu/transcriptkey>

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DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

This certifies that Maeve E. McBride was admitted to Dartmouth College in
Fall Term 2016 to the Class of 2020 as a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Eric Parsons, Registrar of the College

Issued on January 17, 2023

Major: Anthropology Complete.

Minor: Religion

Student Status: A.B. awarded June 14, 2020. cum Laude.

Third Honor Group 2019-2020

Second Honor Group 2018-2019


Third Honor Group 2017-2018



Term	Course	Course Title	Enr.	Med. CC.	Gr.	Cit.	Term	Course	Course Title	Enr.	Med. CC.	Gr.	Cit.
ADV	MATH003	College Board Adv Placement			0	CR			Dartmouth Foreign Study Program Edinburgh				
		T.Avg. 0.00 Cum. Avg. 0.00 Cum.CC. 0					18F	REL 070	Foreign Study in Religion I	10	[B+]	1	B+
	16F	ANTH001 Intro to Anthropology	62	[B]	1	B+		REL 071	Foreign Study in Rel. II	10	[A-/B+]	1	A-
		HUM 001 Dialogues w/the Classics	15	[A-]	1	A-		REL 74.13	REL & Rise of Capitalism	10	[A]	1	A
		MATH008 Calc Func One/Sev Variable	103	[B]	1	B			T.Avg. 3.67 Cum. Avg. 3.65 Cum.CC. 21				
		T.Avg. 3.33 Cum. Avg. 3.33 Cum.CC. 3							Dartmouth Foreign Study Program Auckland				
	17W	HUM 002 The Modern Labyrinth	13	[A-]	1	A-	19W	ANTH051	Colonialism & its Legacies	20	[A-]	1	A
		PBPL005 Intro to Public Policy	101	[B+]	1	B+		ANTH052	Intro to Maori Society	15	[A]	1	A
		PHYS013 Introductory Physics I	92	[B+]	1	B		ANTH054	Foreign Studies in Anthro	13	[A-]	1	A
		T.Avg. 3.33 Cum. Avg. 3.33 Cum.CC. 6							T.Avg. 4.00 Cum. Avg. 3.69 Cum.CC. 24				
	17S	ANTH12.10 Jews&Arabs:EntangledHistory	19	[A-]	1	A-	19S	ANTH006	Intro to Biological Anth	57	[A-]	1	A
		GOVT010 Quantit Political Analysis	33	[B+]	1	A-		MUS 001	Beginning Music Theory	25	[A]	1	A
		REL 064 Evangelicalism	25	[A]	1	A		REL 20.02	Magic, Science&Religion	18	[A]	1	A
		T.Avg. 3.78 Cum. Avg. 3.48 Cum.CC. 9							T.Avg. 4.00 Cum. Avg. 3.73 Cum.CC. 27				
	17F	ANTH008 Rise&Fall Prehist Civzn	50	[B+]	1	A-	19F	ANTH015	Political Anthropology	29	[A]	1	A
		COSC001 Intro Programming&Computatn	172	[B+]	1	A-		ANTH075	Ecology, Culture & Envrnmnt	12	[A-]	1	A-
		REL 060 Reformations	17	[A]	1	A		REL 055	Ancient Egyptian Religion	20	[A-/B+]	1	A-
		T.Avg. 3.78 Cum. Avg. 3.56 Cum.CC. 12							T.Avg. 3.78 Cum. Avg. 3.73 Cum.CC. 30				
	18W	ANTH048 From Sacred to Salvation	20	[B+]	1	B+	20W	ANTH062	Health&Disease:Evol Persp	33	[A]	1	A
		HIST029 Wm&Am Radicalism Left&Right	21	[A-]	1	A		GEOG028	Immigration,Race&Ethnicity	23	[B+]	1	A
		REL 19.24 Ancient Magic and Religion	24	[A]	1	A *		REL 03.01	IndigenousReligionsAmericas	19	[A-]	1	A
		T.Avg. 3.78 Cum. Avg. 3.60 Cum.CC. 15							T.Avg. 4.00 Cum. Avg. 3.76 Cum.CC. 33				
	18X	ANTH50.22 Sovereignty, Race, Rights	17	[A-]	1	A	20S	ANTH020	Primate Evolution & Ecology			1	CT
		COCO01.03 Fashion and Identity	33	[A-]	1	A		ANTH041	Human Evolution			1	CT
		COLT64.04 The Sixties	134	[A-]	1	A		NAS 30.21	Native Am Art & Material			1	CT
		T.Avg. 3.89 Cum. Avg. 3.65 Cum.CC. 18							T.Avg. .00 Cum. Avg. 3.76 Cum.CC. 36				

Dartmouth Hall, built 1784

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Maeve E. McBride	Dartmouth College Transcript	Page 2	Eric Parsons, Registrar of the College	Issued on January 17, 2023
Courses which exceeded the median grade: 14 Courses which equaled the median grade: 18 Courses below the median grade: 1 Courses taken eligible for this comparison: 33				
END OF RECORD				



Dartmouth Hall, built 1784

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Citation for Meritorious Performance
for Eric Parsons, Registrar of the College
Maeve E. McBride '20



Religion 19.24

"Maeve was an exceptional student and contributor to the class -- one of my best students!"

Winter Term 2018

Suzanne Lye
Dartmouth Faculty



Dartmouth Hall, built 1784



DARTMOUTH COLLEGE • Office of the Registrar • HANOVER • NEW HAMPSHIRE • 03755-3541 • (603) 646-2246

Statement of Credits

This record is for a student who was registered Fall 1985 or later. All courses are in the form of course units. In 2018 the course count unit was adjusted to better reflect actual equivalency. Each course count unit may be considered the equivalent of a semester course worth 3.5 semester hours (4.5 if a laboratory course) or 5 quarter hours (6.7 if a laboratory course).

EXPLANATION OF UNDERGRADUATE RECORD

Admission to Dartmouth College is based upon approval of the entire record of preparation and not solely upon units that have been recorded. Student Status is indicated as: Active, Graduated, Resigned, Separated, Suspended or Withdrawn. The normal course load is three but, within specified limits, loads of two or four courses are allowed. Terms are identified by the last two digits of the calendar year followed by F for Fall, W for Winter, S for Spring, X for Summer, or ADV for Advanced Placement credits and exemptions.

Due to the Coronavirus COVID-19 outbreak, mandatory alternate grades (CT/NC) in effect for spring 2020.

Column Headings		Course Numbering and Level	
Class of 1987 and prior classes		1-9	Primarily Introductory Level Courses
GR Grade Received	Additional headings for the Class of 1998 and later	10-79	Primarily General Course Offerings
CC Course Count	ENR Course Enrollment	80-89	Certain Special Types of Courses
CIT Citation	MED Median Grade for course	90-99	Certain Advanced Undergraduate Major Courses
	Median grades are not calculated for courses with fewer than ten students or for classes earlier than 1998	100-299	Graduate Level Courses
Explanation of Honors		Departmental Honors:	
Honors in Awarding of the Degree: Awarding of honors for the Bachelor of Arts degree is based on the cumulative averages of the past three years' graduates.		Honors: Honors Program completed with a minimum average of B+ in the courses of the Honors Program.	
Summa cum Laude Top 5%	Honor Groups for Academic Year: Awarding of the honor groups is based on the grade point average from all classes of the previous year.	High Honors: Honors Program completed and by vote of the department on the basis of outstanding independent work.	
Magna cum Laude Top 15%	Rufus Choate Scholar Top 5%		
Cum Laude Top 35%	Second Honor Group Top 15%		
	Third Honor Group Top 35%		
Grades and Points		Course Count Requirement for Degree	
A 4	AD ① Administrative Delay-Temporary Designation	1972-87	33
A- 3 2/3	CR ③ Credit on Entrance for class of 2018 and later; ② for class of 2017 and prior	1988 to present	35
B+ 3 1/3	CT ① Credit for Dartmouth course (Credit/No Credit Option)	Key for Other Designations ① Not used in computing grade point average ② Course credit only. (Not used in computing grade point average) ③ No course credit # Course credit only. (Not used in computing grade point average) * Citation for meritorious performance	
B 3	EX ③ Exemption		
B- 2 2/3	I ① Incomplete-Temporary Designation		
C+ 2 1/3	NC ③ No Course Credit (Credit/No Credit Option)		
C 2	NR ② Non-Recording Option		
C- 1 2/3	ON ① On-going Course		
D 1	TR ② Transferred Course		
E 0	W Withdrawn from Course		
	* Citation		

EXPLANATION OF GRADUATE RECORD

HP High Pass	Superior quality	Graduate students enrolled in undergraduate courses are graded on the undergraduate grading system.
P Pass	Good quality	
LP Low Pass	Acceptable quality	
NC No Credit	Work that is not acceptable for graduate credit	
CT Credit	Satisfactory work in certain courses; such as research courses, that assignment of a grade of HP, P and LP is considered inappropriate. The grade of CT is not intended as a routine alternative to the HP, P, LP system. CT is the only passing grade in a course in which it is used.	

June 11, 2023

The Honorable Jamar Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, VA 23510-1915

Dear Judge Walker:

I write enthusiastically in support of Maeve McBride, a student at George Washington Law School who has applied to clerk in your chambers. Maeve is the Managing Editor of the Law Review and one of the very top students in her class. Maeve was a student in my Civil Procedure class in Fall 2021, and I thought, after taking into account class participation and exam performance, that she was the best student in the class. It did not surprise me that she earned an A+ on the exam. Although Maeve is not the type of student who volunteers simply so that she can hear herself speak, I always knew that I could turn to her when the class was struggling with a difficult concept. Her comments were always incisive, insightful, and right on the mark. As a teacher, it is impossible to overstate the value of such students to the educational process. Maeve is intellectually curious and engaged, which makes her seem more mature than her classmates. Maeve repeated her performance in my Legislation and Regulation class in Spring 2022, in which she earned another A+.

Maeve's performance in my classes, apparently, is the norm for her. Maeve's GPA is 4.00, which puts her at the very top of the class. GW has a stricter curve than most of its peer institutions, which makes Maeve's performance all the more impressive.

Maeve has maintained this singular level of academic achievement while serving as the Managing Editor of the Law Review. The Managing Editor basically runs the journal day to day. The position requires excellent organizational skills and unflappability. Maeve's peers, who elected her to the position, obviously have great faith in her leadership abilities. In addition to her duties on the Law Review, Maeve did externships both semesters during her second year—at the Public Defender's office in Arlington in the Fall and for Magistrate Judge Harvey in the Spring—and during the Spring of her first year (at the Mid-Atlantic Innocence Project, work that is continuing), which makes her academic performance all the more stunning.

Indeed, Maeve will arrive at a clerkship with significant legal experience. She was a summer associate after her first year of law school at Shumaker, a law firm in Toledo, Ohio (where Maeve is from), where she worked on a range of matters. She is spending her second summer at Covington and Burling in Washington, DC.

Finally, Maeve strikes me as an amiable and decent person. She is energetic and thoughtful, and she will fit in well in any judge's chambers. I have no doubt that Maeve will have a successful and productive career in the law. She is one of our very best, and I strongly endorse her clerkship application. I hope that you will consider her carefully. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Peter J. Smith
Arthur Selwyn Miller Research Professor of Law

(202) 994-4797

pjsmith1@law.gwu.edu

Peter Smith - pjsmith@law.gwu.edu - (301) 907-4392

June 11, 2023

The Honorable Jamar Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, VA 23510-1915

Dear Judge Walker:

I write to recommend Maeve McBride to serve as your law clerk. Maeve was a truly exceptional student in my first-year Fundamentals of Lawyering course. Our small class size and seminar-style format allowed me to get to know Maeve both as a student and a person, and I know her well enough to recommend her for a clerkship in your chambers without condition.

There's only one word I can think of to describe Maeve's performance in my class and in law school more generally: extraordinary. Maeve was always prepared for class, she met every deadline, and she regularly (and helpfully) participated in class discussions and exercises. She is a clear and calm communicator. Her writing is no-nonsense—it's focused and precise and gets to the heart of the issue up front. Maeve's graded written work—graded blindly—placed her at the top of the class in both semesters, earning an "A" grade in each.

Maeve has been equally impressive elsewhere in law school. With remarkable consistency, she has earned a perfect 4.0 GPA over three semesters. Maeve's choice in classes reflects her commitment to prepare for similar success as a law clerk at any level. She has taken evidence and is currently taking administrative law and criminal procedure. She is also a member of the Law Review, and is currently writing a student note that proposes bold changes to the way lawyers evaluate conflicts of interest. Her paper convincingly argues that we should shift away from automatic conflicts and instead focus on genuine risk that client confidential information will be shared so that clients have more power to choose their lawyers. She will serve as a Managing Editor of the Law Review next year, which will only improve her already strong writing, editing, and time management skills.

Maeve also understands the role of a law clerk. This semester, she interned for the Honorable Michael Harvey of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, which gave her valuable insight into the dynamics of a judge's chambers—a small, closely-knit group of people working together to ensure that the judge's docket runs smoothly and efficiently. She knows the importance of meeting deadlines, of paying attention to detail, and of creating a trusting relationship with the judge and other chambers staff. And she understands that the clerk's work product represents the judge and so requires the highest standards of excellence.

As you know, law school success isn't everything. Maeve is also a genuinely good, caring, and empathetic person. Despite her tremendous success, she remains true to her humble suburban Ohio upbringing. During one of our conversations, she described that she had a middle-class childhood with "the kind of parents who told you to go outside and find the neighborhood kids if you were bored." To me, that really captures Maeve's self-starter spirit. Her interests are varied. She reads historical fiction and fantasy novels. She loves the museums here in DC and watching true crime documentaries on Netflix. All of that is to say that has the character and personality to make a positive impact in chambers.

In short, Maeve possesses in spades many qualities that would make her an excellent judicial law clerk. She has the legal acumen, the analytical abilities, the writing skills, and the personal qualities to handle the rigors of the job. She is also kind, generous, and upbeat. I am sure that she would be a welcome addition to your law clerk family. I recommend her to you without reservation, and welcome any further inquiry you may have about her.

Sincerely,

John P. Collins, Jr.
Visiting Associate Professor
The George Washington University Law School
(202) 994-0672 (office)
(845) 216-9940 (mobile)
jcollins40@law.gwu.edu

John Collins - jcollins40@law.gwu.edu

June 11, 2023

The Honorable Jamar Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, VA 23510-1915

Dear Judge Walker:

I am very pleased to submit this letter in support of Maeve McBride's application for a clerkship in your chambers. By way of introduction, I am an Associate Professor of Law at the George Washington University Law School (GW Law). Maeve was my Teaching Assistant (TA) for both of my Torts classes during the Fall 2022 semester, and I was so impressed with her that I hired her as my Research Assistant (RA) as well. She is still employed as my RA, and I hope to keep her on my research team as long as possible.

Prior to my current position, I taught in clinical programs at Berkeley Law, Denver Law, and Villanova Law. I also served in federal courts as a law clerk and staff attorney. I have taught and intensely supervised many law students over the past 12 years, and Maeve stands out as one who I believe will be particularly successful as a judicial clerk. Maeve is a stellar student with a bright future ahead, and I cannot recommend her highly enough.

I initially met Maeve because I began my position at GW Law this past semester and needed to hire a TA. I contacted one of my colleagues, Professor Sonia Suter, to ask if she had any past students she would recommend. Professor Suter responded with enthusiastic praise about Maeve, so I contacted, interviewed, and hired Maeve shortly before the semester started. Maeve's TA duties included attending two of my Torts classes per week, researching current events related to class topics, drafting hypotheticals for me to use in class, holding TA office hours, and holding review sessions prior to the midterm and final exam in order to share strategies related to preparing for law school exams. Students reported that her sessions were very helpful in orienting them to law school and developing new study habits. Maeve had many other things on her plate last semester, including an internship on top of her regular coursework, yet she was always available to assist with anything I needed. She is efficient without losing thoroughness, which is a rare quality.

As the fall semester was coming to a close, I asked Maeve if she would stay on as my research assistant. I write in the area of immigration law, which Maeve had not yet studied, but I had no concerns about her ability to get up to speed because she interested in a variety of topics and is a fast learner. Some law students shy away from areas of law they have not yet encountered in their studies, but Maeve seems to enjoy diving into complex and multi-faceted problems in any area. As I expected, her work as an RA has been excellent. Maeve has been reading numerous cases from the Board of Immigration Appeals and analyzing the outcomes of decisions related to disability. She has picked up on interesting patterns in the cases, beyond what I would expect a law student to notice, and has even recommended new research paths to me.

Maeve has proven that she is skilled at legal research, as she has assisted multiple times when I have struggled to find data or legal resources for my projects. I have sent Maeve numerous requests for help researching issues over the course of the semester, and she has always responded promptly and either found exactly what I needed or provided a thorough explanation of her efforts and suggestions for other paths to pursue. Maeve also volunteers for the non-glorious tasks, like Bluebooking. In fact, she turned around footnote edits on a 70-page draft on short notice when I had a deadline approaching. Lastly, Maeve is a kind and collegial person who works well either on her own or on teams. My RAs have collaborated on a few group projects this semester and they seem to get along well and divide responsibilities in an equitable fashion. My sense is that Maeve would contribute to a harmonious and collaborative work environment.

I hope my comments here have captured that Maeve is highly intelligent, self-motivated, diligent, intellectually curious, and collegial. She would be a wonderful addition to any chambers, and I recommend her without reservation. If you have any questions or need additional information, please feel free to contact me at tania.valdez@law.gwu.edu.

Sincerely,

Tania N. Valdez
Associate Professor of Law
The George Washington University Law School

Tania Valdez - tania.valdez@law.gwu.edu

June 11, 2023

The Honorable Jamar Walker
Walter E. Hoffman United States Courthouse
600 Granby Street
Norfolk, VA 23510-1915

Dear Judge Walker:

I am writing in enthusiastic support of Maeve McBride's application to serve as one of your law clerks. Maeve was a student in my Torts class her first semester of law school. Based on my knowledge of her as a student and person, I am highly confident that she would make an outstanding law clerk.

Maeve stood out from the first day of class in Torts. In a large class of 123 students, she was an extremely active and serious participant in classroom discussions. It was clear that she was confident and not the least bit cowed by speaking in a group of over 100 students. Maeve consistently asked excellent and incisive questions and often provided thoughtful answers that demonstrated a very strong grasp of the material and its complexities. Her comments in class revealed her bright, analytic mind and her desire not only to learn the legal principles, but also to understand the rationales and policies behind them.

I fully expected Maeve to perform well on the final examination, which she did by earning the highest overall score in the class. The examination included a long, issue-spotting question for which she earned the very highest grade with a score 3.23 standard deviations above the mean. I wrote a note to myself (before adding up the scores or knowing the identity of the author) that the essay was extremely strong. I noted that it didn't miss a single issue and was likely to earn one of, if not the, highest scores. And indeed, it did. Her writing was extremely clear, and her organization was excellent. What's more, she was able to see all of the larger and more nuanced legal issues presented by the complicated fact pattern. It was truly one of the best first-year final examination essays I have graded in more than twenty years of teaching.

She also did very well with the multiple-choice questions, which required a good deal of reading and analytical reasoning. Her score for that portion of the exam was 1.71 standard deviations above the mean, leading to an overall score that was 2.62 standard deviations above the mean. Maeve's overall exam performance demonstrated her thorough knowledge of the material; ability to identify legal issues in new fact patterns; capacity to articulate arguments on both sides; and ability to express her ideas clearly, coherently, and thoughtfully. I rarely award A+ grades. But based on her outstanding exam performance and excellent class participation, she deserved no less than an A+ for the class. It is evident that her performance in Torts was not a fluke; thus far, she has earned nothing but some form of an A grade in all of her classes, with the exception of a single B+.

Based on my knowledge of Maeve, she was the first student who came to mind as a potential teaching assistant when a new colleague asked for recommendations of former students. Had I not been on sabbatical last fall, I would have offered the position to Maeve myself.

For the same reasons I recommended Maeve as a teaching assistant, I know she would be an excellent law clerk. The fact that she wrote such a fine exam in the high-stress and time-pressured setting of a final examination is powerful evidence that she has the strong writing and analytic skills required for a clerkship. She also grasps the nuances of legal concepts and ideas that many students miss, something that she demonstrated repeatedly in class discussions and on the final exam. In addition, she is careful and thoughtful in her reasoning. I am confident that she will be conscientious, efficient, and thorough in her work as a clerk. What's more, she will also be eager to discuss legal issues with co-clerks and a judge as evidenced by her strong engagement in class.

In addition to being highly intelligent, thoughtful, diligent, and hardworking, Maeve is also confident without being arrogant. She organized a lunch with me and some of her peers when she was taking Torts, and I found her very conversational, engaging, and mature. The fact that she was selected to be the Managing Editor on the George Washington University Law Review demonstrates that she gets along well with her peers and is also well-respected.

For all of these reasons, I am highly confident that Maeve has exactly the qualities one would want in a law clerk and lawyer. She has an active, lively, and intellectual mind; she expresses her thoughts in writing and orally with exceptional clarity and organization; and she has a very strong work ethic. Moreover, I have no doubt that she will get along well with peers, support staff, and supervisors alike. Given her many strengths, I am sure that you would be very pleased to hire her as your law clerk.

If you have any other questions about Maeve's application and abilities, I would be happy to speak with you. Please feel free to contact me at (202) 994-9257 or ssuter@law.gwu.edu.

Sincerely,

Sonia M. Suter, J.D., M.S.
Professor of Law
Kahan Family Research Professor of Law
Henry St. George Tucker III Dean's Research Professor of Law
Founding Director, Health Law Initiative

Sonia Suter - ssuter@law.gwu.edu

The following writing sample is an essay prepared to fulfill the advance writing requirement through the *George Washington Law Review*. The essay discusses the problems of applying The Model Rules of Professional Conduct about conflict of interests to modern global megafirms. I received feedback on this essay and some aid in proofreading, however, the content and structure are entirely my own.

Maeve McBride

18 Snows Ct, Washington, DC 20037 | (567) 277-3253 | maeve_mcbride@law.gwu.edu

The Rules are Swiss to Me: Adjusting the Model Rules of Professional Conduct to Better Reflect the Risk of Concurrent Conflict of Interest at Global Megafirms

Abstract.....	2
I. Introduction.....	3
II. The Rules About Concurrent Conflicts of Interest and Legal Ethics	5
III. International Mega Firms and Imputed Conflicts a Series of Case Studies	10
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Abstract

The Model Rules of Professional Conduct were adopted in 1983. In the 40 years since their adoption, legal practice has changed dramatically. Firms have grown to unprecedented size, with the largest firms having well over 1000 lawyers working at offices around the globe. Some firms have also adopted Swiss verein structures which allow loose affiliations of smaller organizations to operate under a single brand. These changes in legal practice have drastically changed the risk to clients based on concurrent conflicts of interest. This Note advocates revising the Model Rules to allow for more flexibility in declaring concurrent conflicts of interest and imputation so that the rules better reflect the differing risks posed by law firms of various structures. In Part II the note explores the text and comments to Model Rule 1.7(a) and Model Rule 1.10. Part II also examines scholarly perspectives on the successes and failures of the Model Rules about conflicts of interest. Part III summarizes the growth of international megafirms, discusses the Swiss verein structure employed by some firms, and explores how the Model Rule 1.7(a) and Model Rule 1.10 have been applied to firms structured as Swiss vereins. Part IV discusses the how Model Rule 1.7(a) and Model Rule 1.10 are overinclusive in the context of firms structured as Swiss vereins. Part IV also proposes a modification to Model Rule 1.7(a) that incorporates Model Rule 1.10 and focuses the inquiry on the risk to clients before discussing how the proposed rule would have been applied to cases introduced in Parts I and II.

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I. Introduction

In a recent case, Dentons US LLP (Dentons US) paid \$32 million for a malpractice judgement stemming from a disqualification based on conflicts of interest.¹ \$32 million is a steep price for the firm, but the client Dentons once worked for also never got the relief they sought, patent protection in international trade.² The International Trade Commission (ITC) applied the Model Rules of Professional Conduct in the initial disqualification, but those Model Rules were ill equipped to handle the case presented.³ The Model Rules automatically impute the conflicts of one lawyer across the entire firm, unless those conflicts stem from personal responsibilities of the lawyer or the conflicts are waived, without critically examining the risk posed to clients based on the size of a firm or how it is structured.⁴ Therefore Dentons, a firm with well over 10,000 lawyers around the world,⁵ was treated identically to a small firm where all the lawyers know one another.

The Model Rules have been updated and amended, but the structure and content has largely persisted over the nearly 40 years since the Rules were adopted.⁶ The Model Rules specifically pertaining to conflict of interest have barely been changed in that time frame, but the structure of firms and risk to clients based on conflicts of interest has.

The Model Rules address conflicts of interest with many individual rules. The most important rules in the context of this Note are Rule 1.7 and Rule 1.10. Rule 1.7(a) defines concurrent conflicts of interest and prohibits lawyers from representing a client when

¹ See *infra*, Part III.

² *RevoLaze LLC v. Dentons US LLP*, 191 N.E.3d 475, 475 (Ohio 2022).

³ See *infra*, Part III.

⁴ MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.10 (AM. BAR ASS'N 1983).

⁵ Dentons, "Dentons Reaches milestone of 10,000 lawyers," (May 14, 2019), <https://www.dentons.com/en/about-dentons/news-events-and-awards/news/2019/may/dentons-reaches-milestone-of-10000-lawyers>.

⁶ See AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, *Model Rules of Professional Conduct*, https://www.americanbar.org/groups/professional_responsibility/publications/model_rules_of_professional_conduct/ (last visited Nov. 12, 2022) for a list of when the rules have been amended or changed.

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representation would create a concurrent conflict of interest.⁷ The two types of concurrent conflict of interest defined by the rule are conflicts based on direct adversity, and conflicts based on a significant risk of material limitation.⁸ Model Rule 1.7(b) provides for a lawyer to bypass Rule 1.7(a) if the lawyer receives informed consent from both parties.⁹ Model Rule 1.10 imputes individual lawyer's conflicts of interest arising under Rule 1.7 across a firm unless the conflict is based on a personal interest of the disqualified lawyer.¹⁰

Despite the Model Rules relative stagnation, the practice of law has evolved significantly since 1983.¹¹ The modern international mega firm is not the same as the small firm practicing in one office the 1983 Model Rules were designed for.¹² This leaves megafirms without clear, well designed, applicable rules especially in the area of conflicts of interest.

When the current Model Rules are applied to global megafirms, the actions of hundreds of lawyers, some of whom have never met, get imputed across the entire firm. This can lead to absurd outcomes that fail both the lawyers and the clients. In the Dentons case, the lawyers had to pay the malpractice judgement, and the clients faced with the prospect of finding new lawyers with experience in international trade and patents, lost their third-party funding agreement, and never received the patent protection they sought.¹³

⁷ MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.7(a) (AM. BAR ASS'N 1983).

⁸ *Id.* See also, *infra* Part II.

⁹ MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.7(b) (AM. BAR ASS'N 1983) "Notwithstanding the existence of a concurrent conflict of interest under paragraph (a), a lawyer may represent a client if: (1) the lawyer reasonably believes that the lawyer will be able to provide competent and diligent representation to each affected client; (2) the representation is not prohibited by law; (3) the representation does not involve the assertion of a claim by one client against another client represented by the lawyer in the same litigation or tother proceeding before a tribunal; and (4) each affected client gives informed consent in writing."

¹⁰ MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.10 (AM. BAR ASS'N 1983).

¹¹ See e.g., Cassandra Robertson, *Conflicts of Interest and Law Firm Structure*, 9 ST. MARY'S J. ON LEGAL MALPRACTICE & ETHICS 64, 67 (2018), Janine Giffiths-Baker & Nancy Moore, *Regulating Conflicts of Interest in Global Law Firms: Peace in Our Time?*, 80 FORDHAM L. REV. 2541, 2543 (2012), Geoffrey Hazard, *Imputed Conflict of Interest in International Law Practice*, 30 OKLAHOMA CITY U. L. REV. 489 (2005).

¹² See Robertson, *supra* note 11, at 72-74.

¹³ *RevoLaze LLC v. Dentons US LLP*, 191 N.E.3d 475, 475 (Ohio 2022).

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This Note examines and addresses the quagmire that is conflict of interest at global firms and proposes combining and simplifying the Model Rules on concurrent conflict of interest and imputation of conflicts.¹⁴ Part II examines how the Model Rules about concurrent conflicts of interest and explores the stated purposes of the Model Rules. Part III examines how the Model Rules about concurrent conflicts of interest are negatively impacting international firms and their clients through a series of case studies. Part IV explores the failures of the current Model Rules and proposes a more effective streamlined rule for dealing with concurrent conflicts of interest. The new rule would modify Model Rule 1.7(a) and combine it with Model Rule 1.10 to create a rule that effectively governs international megafirms without substantially changing how the rules apply to smaller firms. The changes allow for flexibility to consider how the structure of a firm The proposed language reads, “A Lawyer shall not represent or continue to represent a client if the representation creates a concurrent conflict of interest. A concurrent conflict of interest exists where there is a significant risk that the interests of the lawyer, or law firm, including the duties to a client, former client, or third party of the lawyer, or law firm, will materially and adversely affect the representation of the client, except as permitted in (b).”

II. The Rules About Concurrent Conflicts of Interest and Legal Ethics

The American Bar Association (ABA) adopted the Model Rules of Professional Conduct in 1983 as a comprehensive update to the Model Code of Professional Responsibility.¹⁵ The Model Rules have been amended twenty-one times in the forty years since they were first adopted.¹⁶ The most recent amendments, in 2020 and 2021, concerned the representation of indigent clients

¹⁴ This Note is exclusively focused on conflicts of interest in civil matters and does not address conflicts of interest in criminal litigation or the relationship between conflicts of interest and the Sixth Amendment. Furthermore, although this Note makes passing reference to conflicts of interest in transactional matters, this Note focuses on conflicts of interest in litigation matters. Finally, this Note does not address conflicts that arise as lawyers transition from one firm to another or between government work and firm work.

¹⁵ MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT preface (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

¹⁶ *Id.*

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and registration as in house counsel.¹⁷ There have been no significant updates to Model Rule 1.7 or Model Rule 1.10.¹⁸ The Model Rules are just that, a model for States to adopt, but every state has adopted the Model Rules in whole or in part.¹⁹ Though the Model Rules are technically not binding, they can be used as guidance when Federal Courts evaluate motions based on legal ethics including motions to disqualify.²⁰ This Part addresses the function and purposes of the Model Rules related to conflicts of interest.

The complicated structure and importance of Conflicts of Interest in legal ethics can be seen by the sheer number of rules related to the subject. Model Rule 1.7 Conflict of Interest: Current Clients, Model Rule 1.8 Conflict of Interest: Current Clients: Specific Rules, Model Rule 1.9 Duties to Former Clients, and Model Rule 1.10 Imputation of Conflicts of Interest: General Rule all focus on the ethics of conflicts of interest. This Note will primarily focus on Model Rules 1.7, and 1.10 – the Model Rules which focus on Duties to Current Clients and Imputation.

Model Rule 1.7(a) defines and prohibits concurrent conflicts of interest.²¹ The rule, like all conflicts of interest rules, is intended to protect the “loyalty and independent judgement” of lawyers.²² It prohibits conflicts where “the representation of one client is directly adverse to

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ See AM. BAR ASS’N, *Model Rules of Professional Conduct*, https://www.americanbar.org/groups/professional_responsibility/publications/model_rules_of_professional_conduct/ (last visited Nov. 12, 2022) (listing significant updates to the Model Rules but not listing any updates to 1.7).

¹⁹ See AM. BAR ASS’N, *Alphabetical List of Jurisdictions Adopting Model Rules*, American Bar Association (Mar. 28, 2019) https://www.americanbar.org/groups/professional_responsibility/publications/model_rules_of_professional_conduct/alpha_list_state_adopting_model_rules/ for a complete list of when each state adopted the Model Rules.

²⁰ See e.g., *Horaist v. Doctor’s Hosp. of Opelousas*, 255 F.3d 261, 266 (5th Cir. 2001) (“[D]isqualification cases are governed by state and national ethical standards adopted by the court’ [including the] Model Rules of Professional Conduct (quoting *FDIC v. U.S. Fire Ins. Co.*, 50 F.3d 1304 (5th Cir. 1995))), *In re Reines*, 771 F.3d 1326, 1330 (Fed. Cir. 2014) (concluding that the ABA Model Rules should be used to evaluate an ethical issue instead of the rules of a specific state), *In re Girardi*, 611 F.3d 1027, 1035 (9th Cir. 2010) (identifying case law, applicable court rules, state rules of professional conduct, and the Model Rules as sources to determine if an attorney’s conduct violates ethical norms).

²¹ MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.7(a) (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

²² MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.7 cmt. 1 (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

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another client,” and conflicts where “there is a significant risk that the representation of one or more clients will be materially limited by the lawyer’s responsibilities. . . .”²³

The prohibition against directly adverse representation means simply that a lawyer may not “act as an advocate in one matter against a person the lawyer represents in some other matter, even when the matters are wholly unrelated.”²⁴ The drafters of the rule were concerned that clients could feel “betrayed” which would cause irreparable harm to the lawyer-client relationship.²⁵ The rule is also designed to protect against lawyers choosing not to pursue one client’s case, or pursuing it less effectively, in order to protect a different client.²⁶

The prohibition against directly adverse representation can apply even when one client is not named in the suit. For example, in *Celgard LLC v. LG Chem, Ltd.*,²⁷ the Federal Circuit disqualified Jones Day from representing Celgard.²⁸ Jones Day represented Apple on other matters, because LG Chem sold batteries to Apple, Jones Day could not represent Celgard for purposes of getting an injunction preventing LG Chem from selling batteries.²⁹ Using North Carolina Rule of Professional Conduct 1.7(a)(1)—which is identical to Model Rule 1.7(a)(1),³⁰ the court reasoned Jones day should be disqualified because “any ‘[a]dvocacy by counsel for [plaintiff in support of]. . . the injunction will adversely affect [customer]’s interest in being free of the bar of the injunction.”³¹ The court was also concerned because “Apple face[d]. . . the

²³ MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.7 (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

²⁴ MODEL RULES OF PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.7 cmt. 6 (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ 594 F.App’x. 669 (Fed. Cir. 2014).

²⁸ *Id.* at 671.

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ AM. BAR ASS’N, Variations of the ABA Model Rules of Professional Conduct: Rule 1.7 Conflict of Interest: Current Clients, ABA (Oct. 28, 2021)

https://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/administrative/professional_responsibility/mrpc-1-7.pdf.

³¹ *Celgard*, 594 F.App’x at 671.

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possibility of finding a new battery supplier, [and] additional targeting by Celgard in an attempt to use the injunction issue as leverage in negotiating a business relationship.”³²

Model Rule 1.7(a)(2) prohibits conflicts where “there is a significant risk that the representation of one or more clients will be materially limited by the lawyer’s responsibilities. . . .”³³ The drafters make it clear in the comments to rule 1.7 that “the mere possibility of subsequent harm does not [create a conflict]. The critical questions are the likelihood that a difference in interests will eventuate and, if it does, whether it will materially interfere with the lawyer’s independent professional judgment in considering alternatives or foreclose courses of action that reasonably should be pursued on behalf of the client.”³⁴ An attorney can have a conflict of interest under Model Rule 1.7(a)(2) when representing multiple parties in transactional work,³⁵ or when an attorney represents multiple plaintiffs in the same litigation who have different interests.³⁶

Model Rule 1.10 imputes conflicts of interest under Rule 1.7 to other lawyers in the firm. “While lawyers are associated in a firm, none of them shall knowingly represent a client when any one of them practicing alone would be prohibited from doing so by Rules 1.7 or 1.9”³⁷ Rule 1.10 has exceptions for conflicts based on personal interests of the lawyer and conflicts based on the work a lawyer did while employed at a different firm.³⁸

³² *Id.*

³³ MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.7(a)(2) (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

³⁴ MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.7 cmt 8 (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

³⁵ *See Id.*

³⁶ *See Johnson v. Clark Gin Serv., Inc.*, no. 15-3290, 2016 WL 7017267, at *9 (E.D. La. Dec. 1, 2016) (granting a motion to “determine conflict-free representation” when the attorney represented both a passenger of Amtrak and the engineer driving the train to sue Amtrak).

³⁷ MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.10(a) (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

³⁸ MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.10 (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

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Analysis of Rule 1.10 largely turns on if a lawyer is “associated in a firm.”³⁹ The Model Rules helpfully provide a definition for firm to aid in making this decision. “‘Firm’ or ‘law firm’ denotes a lawyer or lawyers in a law partnership, professional corporation, sole proprietorship or other association authorized to practice law; or lawyers employed in a legal services organization or the legal department of a corporation or other organization.”⁴⁰ Whether lawyers are part of a firm under this definition is a fact specific analysis.⁴¹

According to the drafters of the Model Rules, imputed conflicts ensures the principle of loyalty underlying conflicts of interest doctrine is upheld.⁴² Drafters present two analytical theories for why loyalty must extend to the entire firm: 1) “that a firm of lawyers is essentially one lawyer for the purposes of the rules governing loyalty to the client,” or 2) “that each lawyer is vicariously bound by the obligation of loyalty owed by each lawyer with whom the lawyer is associated.”⁴³

According to the ABA, imputing conflicts is also vital in protecting client confidential information. Model rule 1.10 has an exception for conflicts based on personal interests of the lawyer precisely because no client confidential information is at risk.⁴⁴ The drafters say Rule 1.10 “does not prohibit representation where neither questions of client loyalty nor protection of confidential information are presented,”⁴⁵ but because Rule 1.10 functions methodically to impute all conflicts not based on personal interests and not waived across the entire firm,

³⁹ MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.10 (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

⁴⁰ MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.0(c) (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

⁴¹ MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.10 cmt. 1 (AM. BAR ASS’N 1983).

⁴² MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.10 cmt. 2 (AM BAR ASS’N 1983).

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ MODEL RULES PRO. CONDUCT r. 1.10 cmt. 3 (AM BAR ASS’N 1983).

⁴⁵ *Id.*

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conflicts are still imputed when there are limited or no impacts on client loyalty or protection of confidential information.⁴⁶

In straightforward cases, courts sometimes entirely skip the step of applying Rule 1.10. For example, in *Celgard*, the court applied Rule 1.7 to Jones Day as an entity instead of a single lawyer or group of lawyers.⁴⁷ After concluding that Celgard was directly adverse to Apple, the court concluded that Jones Day could not represent Celgard. The court glossed over the analysis under Rule 1.10,⁴⁸ but presumably the court considered Jones Day to be a firm so the conflict of interest for the lawyers who worked on the Apple matters applied to the entire firm. This kind of analysis works perfectly fine when it is clear that an organization is a firm but becomes more difficult when that is in question.

III. International Mega Firms and Imputed Conflicts a Series of Case Studies

When the Rules are applied to organizations with complicated corporate structures, courts can reach absurd outcomes. This Part recounts a short history of how legal practice has changed since the adoption of the Model Rules and then presents a series of case studies about how the Model Rules apply to law firms organized in a complicated structure known as a Swiss verein.

A. A Short History of the Growth of International Mega firms

In the approximately forty years since the Model Rules were published, the structure and size of law firms has changed drastically. Historically, law practice was dominated by solo practitioners offering a limited number of services.⁴⁹ When partnerships did form, it was

⁴⁶ See *infra*, Part III.

⁴⁷ *Celgard*, 594 F.App'x at 672.

⁴⁸ See *Celgard*, 594 F.App'x at 672.

⁴⁹ Gillian K. Hadfield, *Legal Barriers to Innovation: The Growing Economic Cost of Professional Control Over Corporate Legal Markets*, 60 STAN L. REV. 1689, 1710 n.88 (2008) ("There are no systematic data on firm size in the early parts of the twentieth century but it is clear that the vast majority of lawyers worked in solo practice or at most two-person partnerships."); See also, Randall S. Thomas, Stewart J. Schwab, & Robert G. Hansen, *Megafirms*, 80 N.C. L. REV. 115, 133 (2001), Robertson, *supra* note 11, at 72.